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SPAIN AND ITS COLONIES, 1808-1820

The Bull of Pope Alexander VI., of September 1493, conveyed the title of the New World to the Spanish monarchs and not to the Spanish nation. The colonies, therefore, were kingdoms in a personal union rather than colonies in the accepted sense. Thus when this personal union became broken the colonies were, so to speak, set adrift. Napoleon was the one who severed the union. He had forced Charles IV. to abdicate. On May 10, 1808, Ferdinand agreed to the abdication of his father and he himself renounced his claims to the Spanish throne. Thereupon, Napoleon called a session of the cortes, the members of which he had named including six Americans. By a decree of June 6, Napoleon proclaimed his brother, Joseph, king of Spain. Nine days later, this cortes approved the constitution of Joseph Bonaparte, according to which there was to be a cortes of one hundred and seventy-two members, sixty-two of whom were to come from the provinces of Spain and the Indies. America and Asia were to have equal political rights and freedom in agriculture and industry. There was to be a council of state of which the section for the Indies was to be in the hands of the Americans.¹ These ideas were revolutionary in character as compared to the restrictive policy of Spain up to this time. Undoubtedly this constitution had an effect upon the decrees of the cortes of Cadíz of a later

¹ I. E. del Valle, *Los diputados de Buenos Aires en Las Cortes de Cadíz* (Buenos Aires, 1912), pp. 9-10.

date. Joseph also offered the colonies the privilege of open ports.²

While these rights were what the colonies most desired, yet the ministers of Joseph frankly told him that they considered the Indies lost to Spain.³ Their judgment was soon confirmed by the news of the reception given to the French emissaries in South America. Napoleon had sent the Marquis de Sassenay to La Plata with orders to proceed later to Chile and Peru.⁴ The Spanish Americans, upon hearing of the usurpation of the Spanish throne by Joseph, resolved to resist the intrusive domination of the emperor of the French and to give abundant aid to the patriots of Spain.⁵ In fact, they burnt the proclamations and expelled the agents.⁶ As late as October, 1810, the viceroy of Peru was using all his efforts to keep Napoleon's emissaries from entering his territory.⁷

The reaction of the Spanish Americans to the pretensions of Napoleon and the loss of their sovereign was to create juntas or governing boards. Such was the case in Caracas in July, 1810, and April, 1810. Buenos Aires formed a junta in May, 1810, and was followed by New Granada in July and Santiago de Chile in September.⁸ All of the juntas loudly proclaimed their loyalty to Ferdinand of Spain. Thus failed the scheme of Napoleon to control the destinies of the new world.

Before we enter into the chronological discussion of the relations between Spain proper and its colonies, it is necessary to trace briefly the intrigues of Carlota Joaquin, the

² W. Walton, *An Exposé on the Dissentions of Spanish America* (London, 1814), pp. ii-v.

³ A. Du Casse, *Memoires et correspondance politique et militaire du roi Joseph* (Paris, 1854-1855), IV. 467.

⁴ W. S. Robertson, "The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies", in *The English Historical Review* (London, 1916), XXXI. 574-575.

⁵ Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁷ P. Torres Lanzas, *La independencia de America* (Madrid, 1912), II. 397.

⁸ W. S. Robertson, "The Beginnings of Spanish-American Diplomacy", in *Turner Essays in American History* (New York, 1910), pp. 235-236.

sister of Ferdinand. She was then a princess of Portugal and Brazil. She claimed the throne of Spain and with it the colonies in America.⁹ She also put forth the theory that the American provinces would, without doubt, be lost to Spain.¹⁰ In order to aid her claims to the throne, Carlota sent letters to all the important political and military leaders of Spain. Many of these became ardent propagandists in her favor in the cortes of Cadiz. All the local and sectional juntas in Spain also received her letters. Finally, she even wrote to her father, mother, and brother recommending changes in America.¹¹ Her intrigues, however, did not confine themselves to Spain. On August 27, 1808, she wrote to the viceroy of La Plata, Don Santiago Liniers y Bermond, and encouraged him to espouse her cause in Buenos Aires. At first, Liniers seems to have favored the scheme but the arrival of the French emissary and Don José Goyeneche, a deputy from the junta of Seville, showed the viceroy that he could do nothing without the consent of Ferdinand or the junta of Seville.¹² Carlota then turned from the viceroy to Manuel Belgrano, one of the patriot leaders of Buenos Aires. Her emissary, Felipe Con-tucci, failed in his mission owing to the influence of Cornelio Saavedra and others.¹³ In spite of these facts, Carlota sent a manifesto to the Spanish Americans on August 19, 1809, calling on them, because of the abdication of her father and brother, to turn their governments over to her.¹⁴

Spain, in the meanwhile, was becoming very suspicious of Carlota and sent the Marqués de Casa Irujo to Brazil as an ambassador. He was ordered to keep an eye on Carlota and her plans. At first, he was convinced that she was only trying

* M. La Fuente, *História General de España* (Barcelona, 1887-1891), XVII. 160.

⁹ J. Vial Soler, *Los Tratados de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, 1904), II. 135-139.

¹⁰ J. M. Rubio, *La Infanta Carlota Joaquina y la política de España en América* (Madrid, 1920), pp. 65-73.

¹¹ Vial Soler, *op. cit.*, II. 147-153.

¹² B. Mitre, *História de Belgrano* (Buenos Aires, 1859), I. 163-180.

¹³ Vial Soler, *op. cit.*, II. 141-144.

to help Spain and not to achieve power for herself. When he learned how thoroughly she had captured the sympathies of the *criollo* and the pure Spaniard, he saw that she aimed at nothing short of placing herself on the throne of La Plata.¹⁵

At this time (1810), a group of citizens from Buenos Aires living at Rio de Janeiro were working for the independence of La Plata. These men were led by S. Rodriguez Peña and Martín Purreydón. Irujo, upon hearing of their activities, insisted that the Brazilian government aid him in arresting them. The secretary of state, Linhares, denied the right on the ground that Peña and Purreydón were under English protection.¹⁶

The revolution of May 25, 1810, at Buenos Aires caused a profound stir in Rio de Janeiro. Carlota, fearing the spread of revolutionary doctrine into Brazil, offered 10,000 men who were already being concentrated on the Uruguayan frontier to stamp out the movement. She had her emissary, Felipe Contucci, to suggest to the cabildo of Montevideo that her army be asked to enter Uruguay. At the same time Irujo was instructing the cabildo to refuse her requests offering instead aid from Spain. Finally, when it seemed that the patriots of Buenos Aires would succeed, Carlota aided Montevideo with money. On January 20, 1811, her plans in this regard came to naught for the regency in Spain informed her that they had taken adequate steps to hold Montevideo.¹⁷

Convinced that the revolution in Buenos Aires was being fostered by English merchantmen the cabildo of Montevideo in July, 1810, decided to blockade the west coast of La Plata and the port of Buenos Aires. The blockade, however, failed and the people of Montevideo decided to raise it only to find themselves without defense, army, arms, and food. Such was the condition of the city when Don Francisco Xavier Elio arrived. He had been commissioned as the new viceroy of

¹⁵ Rubio, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-80.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 81-83.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-103.

Buenos Aires. He tried, at first, to get possession of the city of Buenos Aires by conciliation saying if they would not accept him as their viceroy he would use force. Upon being denied, and because of the fact that he had no army or supplies, he approached Carlota. He also approached the Spanish ambassador, Irujo, but failed to obtain troops through this medium. Likewise, he asked aid from the English ambassador, Lord Strangford, at Rio de Janeiro.¹⁸ The prince regent of Portugal then began to emphasize the necessity of mediation. He offered the good offices of Portugal and, if needed, the help of 7,000 troops. Spain appealed to England and inquired what the attitude of the English government would be on the question of Portuguese intervention. England replied that if Portugal acted as mediator confusion would result; that Brazil's ambitions were feared; and that the ambitions of Carlota would impede pacification. However, when England's attitude became known it was too late; already the Brazilians were on their way to aid the viceroy, Elio, at Montevideo in spite of the protests of Lord Strangford and the envoy of Buenos Aires, Don Manuel Sarratea.

The prince regent, meantime, had insisted that all hostilities were to be suspended; that the *Banda Oriental* was to remain in the hands of the viceroy Elio; that the blockade of Buenos Aires should be lifted; that all acts of hostility against Paraguay should cease; and, finally, that a definite peace should be made with Spain. The junta of Buenos Aires refused these demands and soon hemmed up Elio in Montevideo. The viceroy then called for troops from Brazil. They were sent on June 6, 1811. In the meantime, Elio caused the cabildo to recognize Carlota on the basis that she recognize the laws of the cortes in Spain. Irujo, of course, severely criticized Elio for having called upon Carlota when a British ship, *Nerius*, was lying in the harbor and might have given aid.¹⁹ A treaty of peace was finally signed on October 20 between

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 118, 132-146; Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-57.

¹⁹ Rubio, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-164.

Elio and the junta of Buenos Aires. By this treaty it was agreed that Buenos Aires was to send a representative to the cortes in Spain in order to place before that body the desires of the people of the viceroyalty.²⁰ Spain considered the treaty a forced measure while Carlota said it recognized the personality of the junta of Buenos Aires.²¹

In spite of the opposition of the people of Buenos Aires to the Portuguese invasion, the Americans in the Spanish cortes tried to name her as the president of the regency (September 24, 1812). They wanted to discuss the matter in an open meeting, but the Spanish party objected and the motion was withdrawn. The cortes feared a regency which had as its head a member of the royal house.²² The English minister to Spain, Wellesley, in a letter to Castlereagh stated that Carlota had a very considerable party in the cortes and that the Portuguese minister was working in her behalf.²³

From 1813 to 1817 the question of Carlota arises again and again. Some of the leaders still favored her claims to the throne. The patriot party, however, succeeded in holding the Portuguese in Montevideo.²⁴ Thus the firmness of the patriot party of Buenos Aires, the fixed policy of the English statesman, Castlereagh, and the fear of the cortes were able to frustrate the dreams and ambitions of Carlota.

The ascension of Joseph Bonaparte as the king of Spain brought forth a national uprising. From Oviedo to Granada, juntas were formed which tried to carry on war with the French and to rule in behalf of Ferdinand. On June 6, 1808, the junta of Seville assumed the title of the "Supreme Governmental Junta of Spain and the Indies". It sent José M. Goyeneche to Buenos Aires, Joaquín de Molina to Peru, José

²⁰ Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-248.

²¹ Rubio, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

²² La Fuente, *op. cit.*, XVII. 317-318; Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-137.

²³ *Correspondence, Dispatches, and Other Papers of Viscount Castlereagh* (London 1851-1853), VIII. 274.

²⁴ *British and Foreign State Papers* (London 1841-1853), III. 1031-1033; IV. 983-996; VI. 697-698.

San Llorente to New Granada, and Manuel Jaurequi and Juan Jabat to the West Indies and New Spain. All of these envoys told of the conditions in Spain and asked for aid.²⁵ The patriotism of the colonists was aroused and everywhere votes of confidence were taken. But of more consequence was the large amount of money that was sent to the aid of the Spanish insurgents. Over 288,000,000 *reales de vellon* (probably \$26,000,000) were sent. In gratitude for this gift the central junta, on January 22, 1809, declared that the American provinces were no longer colonies but an integral part of the Spanish nation with the right of representation in the junta.²⁶

On January 14, 1809, the central junta succeeded in allying itself with Great Britain by a treaty of "peace friendship, and alliance." As a result aid came from England to be used against the French. Nothing definite, however, about the colonies was to found in the treaty.²⁷

Due to different revolutionary movements in America and to defeats in Spain of its forces, the central junta dissolved itself in favor of a regency. At this time of uncertainty the regency seemed to do nothing but irritate the colonies. Venezuela, Buenos Aires, New Granada, and others promptly disavowed the authority of the regency. Venezuela, on April 19, 1810, deposed the captain-general, Emparant, and set up a provisional junta. It declared in justification of its acts that the disorders in Spain left it without the guaranty of law. America, it said, was too vast a territory for Spain to govern and because the junta tried to provide the needed protection against Spain's enemies it had been declared in the state of rebellion and its ports blockaded. Even more irritating was the fact, so they said, that the regency had tried to divide the region and to discredit the inhabitants in the eyes of the world.²⁸

²⁵ W. S. Robertson, "The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies", *op. cit.*, XXXI, 582-583.

²⁶ *Historía de la vida y reinado de Fernando VII, de España* (Madrid, 1842), I, 218-219; Vial Soler, *op. cit.*, II, 357-364.

²⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I, 667-673.

²⁸ *Memorias del General O'Leary* (Caracas, 1879-1881), I, 39-44.

Buenos Aires on May 25, 1810, also deposed its viceroy and set up a provisional junta. New Granada, on July 20, did the same holding that the dissolved central junta of Seville had usurped the power and that it had insulted the Americans who had asked for equal rights by giving them only nine representatives in the junta while Spain had thirty-six.²⁹ Mexico, on September 16, had also launched a revolution against Spain. Chile followed two days later.³⁰

When the regency heard of these disturbances it contented itself by sending commissioners to conciliate the colonies. The Marqués de las Hormazas, secretary of the treasury (*ministro de hacienda*), issued an order authorizing direct commerce between ports in the Indies and those of foreign nations. When the merchants of Cadíz heard of this, they went to the regency with a demand that the decree be withdrawn. The regency promptly denied that such a decree had been issued, but at the same time it took the precaution of withdrawing the decree. Fearing trouble in Cadíz over the matter and also fearing the activities of Carlota in the *Banda Oriental*, the regency decided to send the troops that were stationed near Cadíz to La Plata under the newly appointed viceroy, Don Francisco Xavier Elio.³¹ Against the revolutionaries of Caracas the regency declared a blockade.³² The effect of the enforcement of the blockade was to drive Caracas to the declaration of independence of July 5, 1811.³³

By its proclamation of February 14, 1810, the regency had asked the colonies to elect and send representatives to the cortes which was to be assembled at Cadíz. The manner of election was that the cabildos were to elect one representative for each province. Spain was given one representative for each 50,000 inhabitants. Besides this each city in Spain was

²⁹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I, 1237-1242.

³⁰ W. S. Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, 1925), p. 165.

³¹ *Historia de la vida y reinado de Fernando VII*, I, 263-264.

³² Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 141, Appendix, document 9.

³³ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I, 1108-1113.

to have a representative as well as each provisional junta in Spain.³⁴ There was, therefore, an overwhelming majority in the cortes from Spain which could legislate as they pleased. Spanish Americans soon saw that the promises of being an integral part of the Spanish nation existed only on paper and not in practice. The junta of Caracas, in a message of May 3, 1810, said they did not recognize either the authority of the Spanish regency or the cortes of Cadíz.³⁵ On January 31, 1811, the same junta held that the cortes was talking of equality, but was treating them as rebels. By their declaration of independence of July 5, 1811, they objected to the type of representation in the cortes, to the lack of equality, and to the efforts of the Spaniards to tell the Americans how to vote. Cartagena, at the end of the same year, designated the council of regency and its methods of treating the Americans as a government *monstruoso*. The press of Buenos Aires (*Martir ó Libre* and *El Grito del Sur*) also pointed out the lack of equality.³⁶ Even some Spaniards saw the lack of equality and argued against the discrimination, J. Blanco White, who edited *El Español* in London, being one of these.³⁷

While these criticisms were being raised, the regency and the Spaniards were debating whether or not to open the cortes without the representatives from America. A compromise was reached. The council of regency formed an electoral junta which made up a list of substitute delegates from all the resident Americans in Spain. From this list, the delegates were chosen by lot.³⁸ Those selected were in no way inferior to the Spanish representatives. Nor did they only confine themselves to the exclusive interests of their respective prov-

³⁴ Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 32-33.

³⁵ R. Altamira, *Resumen histórico de la independencia de la América Española* (Buenos Aires, 1910), p. 42.

³⁶ Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-65.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 248-252.

³⁸ E. M. de Labra, *Las relaciones de España con las repúblicas hispano-americanas* (Madrid, 1910), pp. 73-74.

inces; they were interested in the general affairs of the nation.³⁹

The cortes, finally, met on September 24, 1810, and it was soon evident that the majority of the Spaniards favored the old system of restriction and subjection. The American deputies, when asked what decrees should accompany the notice of the installation of the cortes to America, unanimously said one which would grant equality of rights. The Spaniards insisted that the matter needed more study.⁴⁰ The Americans also added that persecution and measures against the overseas provinces should be discontinued and that the cortes should immediately admit the duly elected representatives from America upon their arrival.⁴¹ Following the suggestion of the Americans, the cortes, on October 15, 1810, confirmed the idea that the Spanish domains in both hemispheres formed one and the same monarchy and that those born in either America or Spain were equal in rights.⁴²

The Americans lost no time in presenting their grievances and proposals. Basing their demands on the decree granting them equality of rights, they asked on November 16, December 16, 1810, and January 11, 1811, for action on the following eleven propositions:

1. That each part of the Spanish empire shall be the same in rights and distinctions as the province and islands of European Spain.
2. That the inhabitants of South America shall be allowed to plant and cultivate whatever their climate will produce and to stimulate industry.
3. That the American provinces shall be allowed to export and import freely to Spain and all neutral and allied nations.
4. That there shall be free trade between Spanish Asia and Spanish America.
5. That there shall be free trade with other ports in Asia.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁰ *Diario de las discusiones y actas de las Cortes* (Cádiz, 1811-1812), I. 12.

⁴¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1885-1887), IV. 443.

⁴² *Colección de los decretos y ordenes que han expedido las Cortes* (Madrid, 1813-1823), I. 9-10.

6. That all royal and public monopolies shall be suppressed.
7. That the working of quicksilver mines shall be free in America.
8. That all Americans shall be equally eligible to offices and rank.
9. That half of the nominations to offices shall be from Spanish Americans (*criollos*).

10. A junta in each capital shall propose the nominations for office.

11. That for the progress of civilization and the instruction of the Indians, the order of the Jesuits shall be restored.⁴³

When these propositions were presented in their final form on January 11, 1811, a Spaniard arose and said:

None of these propositions should be debated because the Americans wish to escape from us, and here we should think only of measures whereby they may not escape from us.⁴⁴

The final fate of the American proposals gives us the key to the Spanish attitude and its seeming inability to understand the position of the colonies. It also shows why the constitutional assembly widened rather than healed the breach that existed between the mother country and the colonies. The first proposition relative to equal representation was rejected after a warm debate.⁴⁵ In the discussions, Señor Don y Felice of Peru stated that

if America is to remain united with Spain it will not be by the highly worked out thoughts of Europeans, but by the harmony and union of wills between Europeans and Americans.⁴⁶

Señor Agustin Lisperquer of Buenos Aires said that the lack of equal representation was a vice which had its basis in Spain as well as in America in the ignorance of the people and the despotism of the rulers. He added that of such ignorance and despotism there was perhaps no other example.⁴⁷

⁴³ M. Palacio Fajardo, *Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America* (London, 1817), pp. 77-79; *Diario de las discusiones*, II, 16 ff.

⁴⁴ *Diario de las discusiones*, II, 368.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 31.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 351.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 317-326.

The propositions relative to agriculture were passed without opposition.⁴⁸ The propositions calling for freedom of trade were warmly debated. On July 24, 1811, the board of trade of Cadíz published a manifesto stating that the granting of free trade to Spanish America was a measure that would be destructive to the interests of Spain. They argued that, in general, the Americans did not desire such a measure, but detested it as destructive to their interests.⁴⁹ While the American deputies wanted free trade, the Spanish deputies opposed it on the grounds that, being the first example of its kind, its passage would be lamentable. The proposition was rejected by a vote of eighty-seven to forty-three.⁵⁰ The question of royal and public monopolies was postponed.⁵¹ By the decree of January 11, 1811, the freedom of working the quicksilver mines was granted. A month later equal rights in the matter of office holding was decreed.⁵²

The propositions as to the percentage of Spanish Americans to be nominated for office holding as well as the manner of nominating the candidates were postponed until after the constitution was considered. The reestablishment of the Jesuit order was rejected.⁵³

While these propositions were being discussed, one of the newly arrived delegates from Mexico, Cisneros, suggested that the provinces of America should have a certain autonomy. He proposed the creation of a provincial legislature and a supreme legislature in each dominion; the latter to represent the government of Spain. These measures were promptly laid on the table and remained there for more than eight months.⁵⁴

Some efforts, however, were made to conciliate the col-

⁴⁸ *Colección de los decretos*, I. 82-83.

⁴⁹ Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-316.

⁵⁰ Del Valle, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-124.

⁵¹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV. 446-448.

⁵² *Colección de decretos*, I. 58-60, 68-69.

⁵³ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 446-448.

⁵⁴ L. Alaman, *La historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1883-1885), III. 52-53.

onies. On March 23, 1811, the cortes removed the hated tax on sales. Only sales that were made in Spanish territory and which were ultimately destined for America were specified in the decree. It is hard to see how this would aid the Americans since all the old monopolies still existed.⁵⁵

The question of the revolted colonies occupied a large place in the discussion of the cortes. They had to express some opinion regarding the American insurgents. The following acts express fairly the attitude of the cortes:

1. It is not the duty of the central government to bring back the revolted colonists by plans of reconciliation.

2. Those who have not revolted will be permitted to name persons for public jobs.

3. In the case where juntas have named new officials, these were to be allowed to retain their positions but in the future the officials are to be elected as in the past.

4. These acts were to remain in force until the new constitution was established.⁵⁶

The Americans in the cortes were awake to the criticisms underlying the foregoing acts. Some thirty-three of them on August 1, 1811, signed a remonstrance in which they claimed that the revolutionary movement in America was due to the fear of French domination. In spite of the insults, ill-treatment, and reproaches of the Spanish delegates, the Americans again presented their eleven propositions. The whole matter was disposed of by referring it to the overseas committee.⁵⁷ In order to reconcile some groups the cortes did offer on November 8, amnesty to all insurgents in Mexico, providing they would lay down their arms and recognize the authority of the cortes and the regency.⁵⁸ Yet, in spite of the decree, none of the political prisoners in Mexico were liberated.⁵⁹ To

⁵⁵ *Colección de decretos*, I. 106-107.

⁵⁶ A. Flores y Caamano, *Don José Mejía Lequerica en las Cortes de Cádiz de 1810-1813* (Barcelona, n.d.), p. xxi.

⁵⁷ Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-293.

⁵⁸ *Colección de decretos*, II. 26.

⁵⁹ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV. 459.

remove one of the symbols of the former despotism, the cortes, on January 7, 1812, abolished the *Paseo de Estandarte* except in church ceremonies.⁶⁰ Most of the loyalty to Spain engendered by these decrees, was lost when the cortes offered a liberal pension to the widows of soldiers who had died in service in America while subjugating the revolted colonies.⁶¹

After months of labor the cortes, on March 18, 1812, promulgated a constitution for Spain. According to this basic law sovereignty was vested in the Spanish nation which included all Spaniards in both America and Spain, yet articles XVIII and XXII exclude those who have negro blood from citizenship. By article XXIII these people of mixed blood were denied the right of suffrage in municipal elections. By article XXV all laborers receiving wages were denied citizenship. A property qualification for office holding was also included in the constitution (article XCII). These provisions eliminated from suffrage and office the great mestizo class, the Indians, and those who had negro blood. On the other hand, a Spaniard after seven years of residence in America could become a deputy to the cortes. To add insult to injury article XXX made the basis for representation in Spain the census of 1797 which was extremely high. In the new world a census was to be taken which they knew would be below average because of the revolts and wholesale reprisals. America was to have two ministers while Spain had six (article CCXXII). Of the forty councillors of state only twelve were to be from America (article CCXXXI).⁶²

Although Monteverde, who was commanding the Spanish forces in Venezuela, was ordered to publish the constitution as the fundamental law of the empire, he delayed in carrying out his orders. When he did publish it the constitution was made the subject of his anger.⁶³ Well might Blanco White say in *El Español* that the experiences of Venezuela prac-

⁶⁰ *Colección de decretos*, II. 26.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II. 25.

⁶² *Constitución política de la monarquía española* (Madrid, 1820).

⁶³ *Memorias del General O'Leary*, I. 108.

tically proves that the constitution which the Spaniards endeavor to establish by force of arms, might be liberty in Spain, but that it was mere slavery in America.⁶⁴ Another Spaniard gave as the reasons why the Americans did not accept the constitution; that Spain had the decisive vote in all the deliberations; that many of the articles were not adaptable to America; that the cortes, which made the constitution, did not in reality include American representatives; and that there was no guarantee for the stability of the constitution.⁶⁵

While much was said of the liberty of the press in the constitution, later practice shows that it was mostly theory. On October 5, 1812, the liberty of the press was declared in Mexico only to be annulled some seventy-two days later.⁶⁶

Equally irritating was the fact that an official vote of thanks was sent to the Spanish commander, Monteverde, when he had succeeded in pacifying the province of Caracas. Likewise the amnesty decree of 1810 was changed so that rebels and their property were not included, but were made subject to arrest and confiscation. A commission which had been sent out on February 13, 1813, to investigate conditions in Venezuela, made its report on June 4, in which it was recommended that an example should be made of Venezuela in order to teach the other insurgents a lesson.⁶⁷

Against the seeming injustices to the Indians and, without doubt, from fear of a revolt, the cortes passed, on November 9, several measures for their benefit. The *mita* was abolished. The Indians were made exempt from personal services to corporations, public functionaries, and parish priests. All public work, such as the building of roads, was to be distributed among those who lived nearby. Each married Indian was to receive a grant of land.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Quoted in Walton, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

⁶⁵ M. Cabrera de Nevares, *Memoria sobre el estado de las Americas y el medio de pacificarlos* (Madrid, 1821), pp. 30-32.

⁶⁶ C. M. Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico, 1843-1846), II, 186-188.

⁶⁷ Flores y Caamano, *op. cit.*, pp. xxx-xxxi.

⁶⁸ *Colección de decretos*, III, 161-162.

During this time, the English government proposed mediation between Spain and its revolting colonies. Admiral Cockburn and Mr. M. Stuart, the English representatives, proposed on June 12, 1811, that the bases for mediation be: that all hostilities should cease and amnesty should be granted; that there should be free trade during the negotiations; that the Americans should have a just representation in the cortes; that Americans should be appointed as governors in America; that all internal matters of the provinces should be in the hands of the cabildos; that allegiance should be given to Ferdinand; that the Americans should maintain mutual and friendly intercourse with the peninsula; and that the Americans should send aid to Spain in order to drive out the French.⁶⁹

The regency favored these proposals but the cortes decided to appoint a commission to make a study of them. The commission reported favorably on most of the points, but added that if the proposals were rejected, then England should aid Spain by force of arms to put down the revolt in the colonies. England would not accept this. The cortes then agreed to the proposed mediation, but did not want New Spain included. When the final vote was taken, the mediation policy was rejected by a vote of one hundred and one to forty-three. Most of the forty-three were American deputies.⁷⁰

The purpose of the English government was to retain the friendship of Spain and at the same time keep open the growing trade with Spanish America. Wellesley, on July 28, 1812, wrote to Castlereagh that no disposition existed in Spain to concede any commercial advantages even for the important object of tranquilizing America. On December 3, he wrote that there was no hope that any proposal would be accepted because the Spaniards had the idea that the English were responsible for the revolt in Caracas.⁷¹ The only result of the

⁶⁹ (Palacio), *Outline of the Revolution*, pp. 89-92.

⁷⁰ Vial Soler, *op. cit.*, I. 462-474.

⁷¹ *Correspondence of Castlereagh*, VIII. 269-282.

mediation was a clause in the treaty of alliance of 1814 by which Spain promised to give England the position of a most favored nation should the colonial trade be thrown open.⁷²

Before the fatal day when the cortes was abolished by Ferdinand, several other decrees of interest to America were passed. The most important were those which abolished the Inquisition. All its former privileges were taken away. Its property was ordered to be confiscated by the state. All evidence in its possession which would incriminate any individual was to be destroyed.⁷³ The penalty of lashes was also abolished.⁷⁴

By January 5, 1814, the cortes and the regency were able to move to Madrid. Napoleon, seeing that his cause in Spain was lost, resolved to place Ferdinand on the throne of Spain. He made a treaty with Ferdinand at Valency on December 11, 1813, according to which the Spanish monarch promised to be an ally of the French, to oust the English from the Spanish soil, and to withdraw any favorable concessions to English commerce.⁷⁵ Ferdinand wrote to the regency to ratify the treaty saying that as soon as he was free he would declare the treaty a forced measure and, therefore, null and void. When the cortes was informed of Ferdinand's return, it decreed that he had to recognize the new constitution before the executive authority would be turned over to him.⁷⁶ Before Ferdinand left Valency he issued a proclamation declaring that he would not support the constitution nor would he recognize any of the decrees or acts of the cortes. Unfortunately the Spanish people did not know of this until after Ferdinand had returned.⁷⁷ Ferdinand informed the colonies that he would not support the constitution because it had been promulgated by men at Cadíz who were not from America.⁷⁸

⁷² *British and Foreign State Papers*, I. 275.

⁷³ *Colección de decretos*, III. 215-224; IV. 17.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, IV. 220-221.

⁷⁵ Vial Soler, *op. cit.*, II. 405-408.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 409-414.

⁷⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I. 1093-1099.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 1310-1313.

With absolutism as the heart of his policy, Ferdinand began to show the colonies that his policy was not reconciliation, but terror. One of his first acts was to appoint a board of generals who were to investigate the revolution in America.⁷⁹ The board recommended that a strong force should be sent to those portions of America where the revolution was at its height.⁸⁰ In a commercial treaty of July 5, 1814, with Great Britain, Ferdinand took the precautions of having a clause inserted by which Great Britain promised not to sell arms to the American insurgents; but in spite of these terms, the English continued to sell arms to the Americans.⁸¹

Ferdinand reestablished the Inquisition in Spain and the colonies.⁸² Freedom of the press was restricted on the grounds that this liberty had been abused in America. Not even an announcement, a newspaper, a book, or a dramatic composition could be published without censorship. All those which had been published during the absence of the king were included in the decree. By another decree Americans were to be included and considered for all classes of dignities and public posts on the basis of merit, knowledge, and circumstances. Evidently this decree of January 10, 1815, was a "sop" to the Americans. Five days later a decree was signed giving the commission for increasing the army destined to America the right to exact new custom duties. A semi-annual tax of one hundred *reales* was imposed on all retail merchants of Spain. The proceeds from this tax were to be used for the pacification of America. There is a vague promise that commerce will benefit because of the renewed trade with America.⁸³

Still eager to keep the friendship of both Spain and its colonies, Great Britain offered to act as a mediator. Welles-

⁷⁹ *Decretos de Fernando VII* (Madrid, 1818-1824), I, 155.

⁸⁰ A. R. Villa, *El teniente general Don Pablo Morillo* (Madrid, 1908-1910), I, 117-118.

⁸¹ *British and Foreign State Papers*, I, 273-275, 292.

⁸² *Ibid.*, I, 1102-1104.

⁸³ *Decretos de Fernando*, I, 231-233; II, 16, 25, 26, 98-99, 494.

ley, however, found that his letters were not answered because the new government had not as yet become well organized.⁸⁴ When the council of the Indies asked for mediation, Castlereagh reiterated his policy of no armed force for America.⁸⁵ Great Britain had, by this time, obtained the larger part of the commerce with South America and was very unwilling to give up any part of it. Spain, on the other hand, was impoverished and Ferdinand's "kitchen cabinet" (*camarilla*) thought that the only way to reestablish prosperity was by the old restrictive commercial policy of Spain. To this, England was opposed.⁸⁶

The Spanish king then turned to Russia for help. Uruguay or *Banda Oriental* was at that time in the hands of the Portuguese. Buenos Aires had declared itself free and independent.⁸⁷ Ferdinand, however, had no funds or army with which to enforce his decrees. His only hope was to get funds from America, but these would only be forthcoming as the result of the subjection of the colonies. He needed a navy to carry out his orders. The Russian ambassador, Tatischev, offered to sell him the ships necessary to subjugate the colonies.⁸⁸ A treaty was concluded and the ships were bought, but they proved to be unseaworthy.⁸⁹ In spite of this deceitful act, the Russian minister and his colleague at Paris were able to rule the "kitchen cabinet" of Spain to such an extent that its eyes were blinded to the real issues in the case. It held to the old policy of forced allegiance.⁹⁰ The Russians even suggested that commercial coercion should be used to bring the colonies in line. When the ambassadorial committee was meeting in Paris on July 2, 1815, it received a note from

⁸⁴ *Correspondence of Castlereagh*, X. 459.

⁸⁵ C. K. Webster, *The Foreign Policy of Castlereagh* (London, 1925), p. 459.

⁸⁶ C. K. Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies", in *The English Historical Review* (London, 1912), XXVII. 78-79.

⁸⁷ *British and Foreign State Papers*, V. 804.

⁸⁸ *História de la vida y reinado de Fernando*, II. 116-117.

⁸⁹ A. Cantillo, *Tratados, convenios . . . de paz y de comercio* (Madrid, 1843), pp. 795-797.

⁹⁰ Webster, *Foreign Policy of Castlereagh*, p. 421.

Fernan Núñez of Spain in which he pointed out the dangerous effects of the revolutionary movements in the new world upon the legitimate governments of Europe. He also asked that the great powers be urged to aid Spain in suppressing the disorders. Any favorable action on this point, however, was blocked by the English representative.⁹¹

The French ambassador has described the conditions that existed at this time in Spain. Its ministry was not united. Its army was on the verge of revolt. It had no navy. The storehouses and arsenals were empty. Its ports were without adequate defenses. Its treasury was empty and the government was unable to collect taxes to fill it.⁹² Many of the Americans were also aware of Ferdinand's real intentions. Pedro Moreno in a letter to Mariano Reynosa on March 26, 1817, said that Ferdinand might have a heart of kindness, but what the Americans had seen was nothing but horror and bloodshed. He added that such generals as Calleja, Cruz, and Negrete, who had been guilty of cruel excesses in America, were rewarded instead of being reprimanded.⁹³ Manuel N. de Aguirre, the agent of Buenos Aires to the United States, also stated similar facts in a letter of October 29, 1817:

On the restoration of the king of Spain to his throne, a sufficient time was afforded to give him the opportunity of correcting his counsels, stating the grievances and injuries he complained of, and finally, of proposing an honorable termination of these differences. Although, the deputy had not yet arrived at the court of Madrid, the king had already despatched his inexorable and bloody decrees.⁹⁴

Terrified by the news that Henry Clay had proposed the recognition by the United States of the Spanish American republics, Spain again asked the allied powers to aid it in the

⁹¹ Webster, "Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies", in *op. cit.*, XXVII, 85-89.

⁹² C. A. Villanueva, *La monarquía en América* (Paris, 1911), I, 84-85.

⁹³ L. G. Obregon, *Documentos para la historia de la guerra de independencia* (Mexico, 1897).

⁹⁴ W. R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin American Nations* (New York, 1925), I, 357-358.

subjugation of its colonies.⁹⁵ In this note, Ferdinand pointed out that since the allied powers had defeated the system of republicanism in Europe, it now needed to be done in America. As the means for retaining America after its subjugation by the allies, Ferdinand proposed: that amnesty should be offered to the insurgents; that commerce should be placed on the free trade basis; and that Americans be made eligible to all offices on the same basis as Spaniards.⁹⁶

The ambassadors considered the note at the conference which met in Aix-la-Chapelle. The French ambassador suggested as a solution that the independence of Buenos Aires be recognized on the conditions that a constitutional monarchy be established with a Spanish prince on the throne; that Spain be granted certain favorable concessions for its commerce; that political and commercial concessions be granted to Caracas, Venezuela, and New Granada; and that a more liberal system of commerce, and especially the appointment of native Americans to public office should be adopted for Peru and Mexico.⁹⁷ Castlereagh blocked the efforts of the French and the Russians on October 24, 1818, by his proposal:

Let us decide collectively that the rôle of mediator be accepted by the five courts, at the same time announcing to Spain that only good offices are possible; let us propose that she begin by granting to the colonies still under her sceptre the advantages she is disposed to offer and make similar offers to those which are in a state of insurrection.

Austria and Prussia supported Castlereagh and the matter was dropped.⁹⁸

The Spanish "kitchen cabinet" unable to understand the situation in America, unwilling to listen to the mediative policy of Castlereagh, and still being influenced by the Russians, began to plan an expedition to America. Don Pablo Morillo was appointed to the command of the expeditionary

⁹⁵ W. P. Cresson, *The Holy Alliance* (Washington, 1922), p. 64.

⁹⁶ Villa, *op. cit.*, III. 659-661.

⁹⁷ Cresson, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

force.⁹⁹ The king approved his appointment as the chief of the forces against Montevideo. On October 16, 1814, an order was issued for the enlistment of 8,000 men for an expedition against New Spain.¹⁰⁰ By November, the regiments were filled and ready to embark. The next three months the troops were kept in quarters closely guarded. When the expedition sailed Morillo had 10,500 men of which 8,000 were chosen from the best infantry of Spain.¹⁰¹ It was at this time that Ferdinand, after emptying the royal treasury, laid a tax on all the retail merchants of Spain. It was vigorously collected.¹⁰² Money that had been given to Spain for the suppression of the slave trade was also used for this purpose.¹⁰³

When the expedition was eight days out at sea, Morillo announced to the fleet that instructions from the king had changed the destination of the expedition from Montevideo to the northern coast of South America (*Costafirme*). This news caused a great commotion among the soldiers. On May 9, 1815, Ferdinand sent a circular to the expeditionary forces explaining that the Americans had failed to respect his legitimate authority and that, he had to use force to bring them back.¹⁰⁴

During the time that Morillo was successfully reconquering portions of Venezuela and New Granada, the king approved of a loan of 30,000,000 *reales de vellon* (about \$2,750,000) for reinforcements for the American expedition. As an inducement to aid enlistments better pay was offered for service in America than for service in Spain. When the news of the victories at Cartegena and Wiluma were received in

⁹⁹ Villa, *op. cit.*, I. 117-118.

¹⁰⁰ *Decretos de Fernando*, I. 318-319, 342.

¹⁰¹ *Memorias del General O'Leary*, 276-278.

¹⁰² M. Quin, *Memoirs of Ferdinand VII, King of Spain* (London, 1824), pp. 149-150.

¹⁰³ Edward Blaquiére, *A Historical Review of the Spanish Revolution* (London, 1822), p. 188.

¹⁰⁴ Villa, *op. cit.*, I. 125; II. 437-448, 462-464.

Spain, Ferdinand ordered that a *Te Deum* should be sung in all the churches of the monarchy.¹⁰⁵

In spite of the many promises of amnesty, few of the American insurgents were fortunate enough to receive it. One typical incident will suffice to show why the Americans did not trust themselves to the Spanish commanders. After Morillo had taken the city of Bogotá, the town council offered him a splendid banquet in honor of the king's birthday. At the end of the occasion some fifty women asked pardon for their husbands, brothers, and sons who were in the prison of the Inquisition. All of these women belonged to the most distinguished families of Bogotá. In view of the many proclamations offering amnesty, it would seem that Morillo had sufficient power to grant their request, but he said in answer to their petitions that he could not grant them their wishes because too many Spaniards had been killed by the insurgents. He did remove them from the dungeons only to deport all but six and these were shot.¹⁰⁶ Morillo after hanging several other insurgent leaders and confiscating their property asked the minister of war for definite rules to govern his actions in this regard. The king signed an order on July 28, 1817, by which all rebels were to be divided into eight classes, four of which were to be tried in military courts and the others in civil courts.¹⁰⁷

In order to hold the portions which he had conquered Morillo requested reinforcements. When aid did not come he asked to be relieved of his duties.¹⁰⁸ Ships were sorely needed to transport the troops from Spain and in its plight the government decreed that merchant ships should be used to carry the army.¹⁰⁹ Morillo at the same time complained that the English in Guiana were supplying the insurgents with arms,

¹⁰⁵ *Decretos de Fernando*, III. 48-49, 115-117, 109-110, 183-184.

¹⁰⁶ Villa, *op. cit.*, I. 197, 201 (note 1).

¹⁰⁷ *Decretos de Fernando*, IV. 363-365.

¹⁰⁸ Villa, *op. cit.*, III. 656-657, 672-673.

¹⁰⁹ *Decretos de Fernando*, V. 630-631.

clothing, and food.¹¹⁰ Since aid was so desperately needed, the king, on January 7, 1819, ordered all military men to unite with their regiments in order to leave for America immediately. A few days later a loan of six million *reales de vellon* (about \$550,000) was ordered. Another decree promised 1500 more men for New Spain.¹¹¹ Every effort was made to embark the troops but evidently they all failed for as late as December 1, 1819, Morillo sent an urgent call for aid.¹¹²

The call was never answered for on March 7, 1820, a revolt broke out among the half-starved and discontented soldiers at Cadíz. An officer, Riego by name, took charge and forced Ferdinand to take an oath to support the constitution of 1812.¹¹³ Again Ferdinand hypocritically addressed the revolted colonies and begged them to hear the tender voice of their king and father. In July, he addressed the cortes saying that he hoped the reëstablishment of the constitution would bring about the pacification of the colonies. The same month, the cortes heard that the government had no adequate military force for the purpose of reconquering America.¹¹⁴

Morillo, because of this condition, received an order from the minister of the colonies in Spain telling him to conclude a treaty of peace. On July 2, 1820, correspondence on the subject began between Morillo and Bolívar and on November 26, the treaty of Trujillo was concluded.¹¹⁵ By the terms of this agreement all hostilities were to be suspended for a period of six months, all places then occupied were to remain in the possession of the occupying parties, hostilities at sea were to cease, communications between the two armies was to be allowed in order to provide food and clothing, and both Cartagena and Maracaibo were to be open for interior trade. The negotiations were made on the basis that the colonies were

¹¹⁰ Villa, *op. cit.*, I. 418.

¹¹¹ *Decretos de Fernando*, VI. 5-6, 21-25, 393-394.

¹¹² Villa, *op. cit.*, I. 418.

¹¹³ H. Temperly, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), p. 10.

¹¹⁴ *British and Foreign State Papers*, VII. 281-284, 859, 950-960, 1049-1060.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, VII. 961-965, 973.

independent.¹¹⁶ Efforts were made in December 1820, to negotiate a treaty of peace with the junta of Buenos Aires, but they failed.¹¹⁷ They showed, however, that Spain was realizing that its power was gone and that it was evidently trying to save what it could from the wrecked empire.

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¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII. 1225-1232.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, VII. 980-982.

ARGENTINE ARBITRATIONS AND MEDIATIONS WITH REFERENCE TO UNITED STATES PARTICIPATION THEREIN

The United States has arbitrated several problems and claims in the years since 1794, when Jay's Treaty with England provided for three boards of commissioners: one to determine the location of the St. Croix River which was to be a part of the Maine boundary, and two to determine the validity and amount of various claims of United States and British citizens. Arbitration as an international policy was vigorously supported in the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 and in the Pan American conferences. Argentina, however, has just as consistently favored arbitration as a means of settling international disputes and has just as vigorously supported such a policy in international conferences.

I. ARGENTINA AND PARAGUAY: THE MIDDLE CHACO ARBITRATION

The United States and Argentina have never been the opposing parties in an arbitration. On the contrary, they have been of real assistance to each other on several occasions. The first attempt to be of assistance on the part of the United States was during the war between Paraguay, under the dictator López, and the three allied countries of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay. Paraguay had resisted the allies so desperately and the loss of life and destruction of property had been so great that, in the second year of the war, on December 17, 1866, the house of representatives of the United States, in a resolution, requested the state department to offer mediation. On January 1, 1867, Minister Asboth wrote to the Argentine minister of foreign affairs to the effect that, in response to his instructions, he was offering the mediation of the United States in the hope of bringing the war to an end.

Argentina, after conferring with the other allies, refused the offered mediation "for powerful motives".¹

On April 10, 1867, Mr. Asboth wrote a second letter to the Argentine Government urging the acceptance of mediation. The reply to this letter was sent to Secretary Seward through the Argentine legation in Washington. Señor Mitre y Vedia, the Argentine chargé d'affaires, wrote to Seward on the ninth of July stating that the allies could not accept the mediation offered by the United States because Mr. Asboth, in his second letter, had criticized the Argentine Government concerning matters of purely domestic concern. He said also that Mr. Washburn, minister of the United States to Paraguay, who was to assist in the mediation, had written a letter to the commander-in-chief of the allied armies on the subject of the mediation. The commander-in-chief was not authorized to interfere in diplomatic affairs and should not have been addressed on the subject, and, furthermore, Mr. Washburn's letter showed that he was prejudiced. For these reasons the allies felt that the mediation would not be impartial and they again refused the offer.²

Mr. Asboth's second letter to the minister of foreign affairs had indulged in a few flattering remarks concerning the bravery of the Argentine soldiers in the previous fighting, but he devoted the greater part of his letter to an attempt to show the government of Argentina that it was following the wrong policy in continuing the war. He pointed to the great sacrifices already made, he spoke of the apathy of the people toward the war, and declared that the revolutions then in progress in four Argentine provinces were clear indications of hostility, on the part of a large portion of the people, to continuing the war. Mr. Washburn had made a special trip through the lines of the two hostile armies to see the commander-in-chief of the allied army, Marquis de Caxias, and had written him two letters. The first letter was simply an

¹ *United States Foreign Relations*, 1867-1868, pt. II. p. 227 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 242-243.

attempt to get into communication with the world outside of Paraguay, but the second stated that the condition which the allies put on accepting the mediation, namely, the resignation of President López, was impossible. Secretary Seward refused to deal with the question presented in the letter from Señor Mitre y Vedia. He referred it to Mr. Asboth in a letter dated May 27, 1867, in which he approved of Asboth's letter of April tenth. He said, for Mr. Asboth's guidance, that earnestness for peace must not lead one to invade the sovereignty or dignity of the belligerents. Whether or not the belligerents accepted the offered mediation was to be left to their own intelligent free choice.³

The triple alliance of Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay in 1865 bound the allies to exact the expenses of the war and obtain certain territorial concessions from Paraguay. The boundaries between Argentina and Paraguay, according to the treaty of alliance, were to have been the rivers Paraná and Paraguay to the intersection of the Paraguay with the Brazilian boundary. At the close of the war, however, Paraguay was not so completely beaten as had been expected. Paraguay resistance had been so stubborn that the allies were not able to obtain all they had desired. The fighting actually ceased in July, 1870, upon the death of López. Argentina withdrew from the treaty negotiations then undertaken, because its territorial demands were not being agreed to. It was because of these facts that Secretary Fish wrote to the United States chargé at Buenos Aires, in 1872, that our government feared lest the independence of Paraguay would be extinguished by absorption by the allies. He instructed the chargé to watch carefully all movements in that direction.⁴ Brazil signed a treaty with Paraguay in 1872 on terms favorable to Paraguay, but Argentina carried on negotiations in 1873 and 1875, and finally signed a treaty in 1876.

By the treaty of 1876 Paraguay yielded to the Argentine

³ *Ibid.*, p. 230. Secretary Seward to Minister Asboth, May 27, 1867.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1872, p. 35.

Republic all claims which the former country had had to the left bank of the Paraná River, and its interest in El Chaco, called also the "great hunting ground", west of the Paraguay River and between the Pilcomaya and Vermejo rivers. Below the Vermejo River Paraguay had no claim. Paraguay also yielded possession of the island of Atajo, at the confluence of the Paraguay and Paraná rivers, to Argentina. The latter gave up all claim to El Chaco between the Brazilian boundary and the Rio Verde. The territory between the Rio Verde and the Pilcomaya River was to be submitted to arbitration and the president of the United States was to be asked to serve as arbitrator. One year after the president accepted the post, the two countries were to submit to him their statements and proofs to the title to this area.⁵

In the statements presented to President Hayes by the governments of Argentina and Paraguay the early history of this section of South America was recounted. They told of the discovery of the River Plate in 1515 by Juan Diaz de Solis, of the first attempt to found a settlement at Buenos Aires in 1535, of its failure, and of the later founding of Asunción. Asunción was the seat of government for all of the Spanish territory south of Peru and east of the Andes Mountains until 1620 when the king of Spain divided that region into the province of Rio de la Plata, and the province of Paraguay. The king, in dividing the territory, had given all of the land to the west of the Paraguay River to the province of the Rio de la Plata.

The Paraguayan statement claimed that the division of territory in the decree of 1620 was an error caused by the lack of knowledge of the geography of the country. This contention was based on the fact that in the decree it was specifically stated that the reason for dividing the region into two provinces was to aid in restraining the Indians in the contested area, who were ferocious fighters and who continually threat-

⁵ The El Chaco Arbitration and the events leading up to it are found in J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, II. 1923-1944.

ened the Spanish settlements. It was further contended that the governor of the province of Paraguay exercised jurisdiction over the Chaco during the century following the king's decree. In the royal decree of 1724 the boundaries of the bishopric of Paraguay were declared to be to the confluence of the rivers Paraná and Paraguay, and on the west bank of the Paraguay River down to the Vermejo River. In 1793 when Don Pedro Melo de Portugal was named governor of Paraguay, the province of Paraguay was stated to comprise all of the bishopric of Paraguay. These were the historical bases on which Paraguay claimed title to the Middle Chaco.

Paraguay, also, claimed title on the grounds of usucaption or prescription. In 1810, when Buenos Aires revolted against Spain Paraguay was invited to acknowledge its authority. The cabildo at Asunción refused to do this and in 1811 the Paraguayans defeated the forces of Buenos Aires at Paraguari. These forces had been sent under the command of Belgrano for the specific purpose of subjecting the people of Paraguay to the rule of Buenos Aires. Soon thereafter the cabildo at Asunción declared the independence of the people of Paraguay. In 1814, Dictator Francia took possession of El Chaco and constructed four forts there which were maintained until 1840. In 1855, some citizens of Asunción established a settlement in the territory in dispute and maintained jurisdiction over it and the surrounding region until Argentina took possession of it at the close of the late war—about 1870.

The Argentine statement gave the same historical facts, but stressed the importance of the decree of 1620 which had established the two provinces and fixed their respective boundaries. The supremacy of Buenos Aires over Asunción in that early period was also cited. That supremacy rested largely on the fact that the viceroy of the two provinces resided at Buenos Aires.

The award given was in favor of Paraguay and was issued in Washington, November 12, 1878. It read in part as follows:

I, Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States of America, . . . do hereby determine that the said Republic of Paraguay is legally and justly entitled to the said territory between the Pilcomaya and the Verde rivers and to the Villa Occidental situated therein, . . . and award to Paraguay the territory on the western bank of that river Paraguay between the Rio Verde and the main branch of the Pilcomaya.⁶

The president of the Argentine Republic, Señor N. Avellaneda, in his annual message to congress in May, 1879, mentioned the arbitration only to state that the decision had been rendered in favor of Paraguay and that the territory would be given over.⁷

II. ARGENTINA AND CHILE: THE ANDEAN BOUNDARY

The boundary between Argentina and Chile in the Andes Mountains would seem to be a natural one, yet for more than fifty years negotiations and discussions were under way to determine it exactly.⁸ In 1843, Chile took possession of the Straits of Magellan and founded a colony there called Punta Arenas. In 1847, Argentina protested to Chile that this colony was in Argentine territory. Between 1876 and 1879, negotiations were undertaken to settle the boundary, but the only agreement that could be reached was, that north of Patagonia the boundary line should be the *divortium aquarum* of the Cordillera de los Andes. In 1879, the negotiations were dropped and a period of intense feeling followed, during which both countries feverishly prepared for war. Two years later, General Thomas O. Osborn, minister to Argentina from the United States, was shown some correspondence that had

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1943.

⁷ State Department, Despatch No. 228, Buenos Aires, May 8, 1879. Minister Thomas O. Osborn to Secretary of State William M. Evarts (MS.).

⁸ The correspondence and material which furnished the basis of this discussion is found in *Statement presented on behalf of Chile in reply to the Argentine report submitted to the Tribunal constituted by Her Britannic Majesty's Government acting as arbitrator in pursuance of agreement dated April 17, 1896* (London, 1901 and 1902); Correspondence, II., Appendix, pp. 207-235. Discussion of claims, I. 285 ff. Treaty of 1881 and protocols, I., Appendix p. 3 ff.

passed between two Argentine statesmen, one of them at that time residing in Chile, which suggested a basis on which the Andean boundary might be settled. General Osborn wrote to the United States minister to Chile, Mr. Thomas A. Osborn, May 2, 1881, stating the circumstances and asking him to find out if the Chilean Government would accept their good offices. The offer was accepted and the exchange of propositions was started. Quite constant telegraphic communication was maintained for nearly two months, at the end of which time a basis of agreement had been reached and the Chilean Government appointed its consul general in Argentina, Señor Echeverría, to conclude and sign the treaty.

The terms of this treaty of 1881 may be summarized as follows: Article I, from the north to the fifty-second degree the boundary line was to run "over the highest summits of the Cordilleras which divide the *Vertientes* (sources of streams or slopes) flowing down to either side"; Article II, fixed the line from the Strait of Magellan north through Patagonia; Article III, divided Tierra del Fuego, gave Staten Island, the islands of the Atlantic, and the east coast of Patagonia to Argentina, while the west coast of Patagonia and a part of Tierra del Fuego including the colony of Punta Arenas was granted to Chile; Article V, neutralized the Straits of Magellan, assured the free navigation of the straits to the flags of all nations and, prohibited the establishment of any fortifications or military defenses there. The last article provided that, in case any question arose in the actual marking of the boundary such question should be referred to the decision of a friendly power. The experts commissioned to fix the actual boundary met with many difficulties and in 1888, 1893, and 1895, it was necessary for the two countries to sign additional conventions and protocols to assist the experts in their work. Finally, in 1896, the arbitration agreement was signed by which it was agreed that sixty days after disagreement by the experts the question should be given to her Britannic Majesty for settlement. This became necessary in 1898 and the final

settlement of the boundary was made by the award of King Edward VII. in 1902. The chief point of difficulty was the interpretation of Article I, of the treaty of 1881. In the Spanish text of the treaty the word "vertientes" appeared and was translated by the Argentine Government to mean "slopes". The Chilean Government, on the other hand, translated it as "sources of streams". The highest summits and slopes down to either side did not correspond with the sources of streams. The British Government was forced to send a commission to Patagonia to go over the ground carefully before handing down the decision, which was on the basis of a practical boundary rather than of a strict interpretation of the treaty.

The United States minister to Argentina in 1899, Mr. William I. Buchanan, was called upon to arbitrate between the boundary experts in fixing the boundary in that part of the Andean region called the Puna de Atacama. He divided the boundary into sections to be voted on separately. The two experts, one from Argentina and the other from Chile, naturally disagreed, and the vote of Mr. Buchanan on each section fixed the boundary as it was finally accepted.⁹ President Rocas, in his annual speech to the national congress in 1899, spoke of this service in the following words:

The delimitation of the Puna de Atacama, which has just been concluded, has an importance vastly greater than the value of the territory in dispute. By it there has been closed the long period of uneasiness and inquietude which has been the cause of so many sacrifices, both on the part of this people and that of Chile. . . . The participation taken in the solution of the difficulties of which I speak by Mr. Buchanan, the American Minister, has also been a motive for particular gratitude. To that solution he chiefly contributed and thus rendered both Republics an eminent service. This is not the first occasion upon which it has fallen to the lot of a minister of the great

⁹ *United States Foreign Relations*, 1896, p. 2 and C. E. Akers, *A History of South America, 1854-1904*, pp. 113-114.

Confederation of the North to decisively intervene in our boundary disputes in the interest of the international peace.¹⁰

III. ARGENTINA AND BRAZIL: THE MISIONES ARBITRATION

On July 2, 1892, President Harrison, through Secretary of State Foster, accepted the post of arbitrator between Argentina and Brazil in regard to the Misiones boundary.¹¹ This boundary had been the subject of several treaties between Spain and Portugal previous to the revolutions in South America, and of several negotiations between Argentina and Brazil, which succeeded to the claims of Spain and Portugal, respectively, by virtue of those revolutions. In 1889, a treaty was ratified which provided for arbitration by the president of the United States in case the boundary commission therein established was not able to agree. That eventuality taking place, the two nations presented the statements of their claims to the president in 1894. The dispute grew out of a difference of opinion as to the position of two rivers. Both countries accepted three points in regard to the boundary; first, that the divisional line between them began, in the north, at the River Paraná opposite the mouth of the Iguacu River and followed the course of the latter river for some distance eastwardly; second, that farther to the south the boundary followed the course of the Uruguay River; and third, that between these rivers, the Iguacu and Uruguay, the boundary was formed by two connecting or practically connecting streams. The rivers designated on modern atlases as the Chapeco and Chopim were the ones which Argentina claimed marked the boundary and which they called, respectively, the Pequiry-Guazú and the San Antonio-Guazú, while the rivers designated as the Pepiry-Guazú and San Antonio were named by Brazil as forming the boundary. The territory in dispute lay between the Iguacu and Uruguay rivers, on the north and south, and the Chapeco-Chopim system on the east and Pepiry-Guazú-

¹⁰*U. S. Foreign Relations*, 1899. Inclosure in a letter from Buchanan to Hay, Buenos Aires, May 2, 1899, p. 7.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 1892, p. 4.

San Antonio system on the west. The area was about 11,823 square miles. The difference of opinion as to the boundary arose because of the lack of knowledge of the geography of the country on the part of the negotiators of the treaties of limits between Portugal and Spain in 1750 and 1777. The negotiators, however, cannot be criticized because no one at that time knew anything about the Misiones Territory and the rivers were not always called by the same names on the different maps of the time.¹²

The Argentine statement, prepared by Dr. Don Estanislao S. Zeballos, Argentine minister at Washington, spoke of the Spanish discovery of the new world, the papal bull issued by Pope Alexander VI. on May 3, 1493, and the treaty of Tordesillas, June 7, 1494, between Spain and Portugal, which modified the line set up by the papal bull. The territory in dispute was pointed out as lying to the west of the line established by that treaty, and therefore, it was claimed to be Spanish. During the latter part of the sixteenth century the Jesuits had explored the Plate region and in the early part of the next century they established missions in the region which is the subject of this arbitration. It was from these Jesuit missions that the region acquired the name it bears. Thus Spain acquired possession in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, the Jesuits were forced to withdraw their missions from the country because of the activities of the people of the captaincy general of San Vicente, in Brazil, called the Paulistas. The Paulistas continually raided the Misiones Territory, in order to capture the Indians and sell them as slaves. The conflicts between Spain and Portugal, both in the old and the new world, led to the negotiation of the treaty of 1750. The negotiators of this treaty used a map, on which the places designated in the treaty were shown. According to the Argentine case the original of this map was lost, but they had found copies of it and presented one in sub-

¹² This discussion of the Misiones Arbitration is based on J. B. Moore, *International Arbitrations*, IV. "The Misiones Arbitration", pp. 1969-2026.

stantiation of their claim. It was upon this map, the "Map of the Courts", together with the instructions of 1758 to the surveyors of the boundary, that Argentina based its claim.

The treaty of 1750 gave to Portugal all of the territory east of the Paraná River and north of the Iguacu. This much of the boundary was never in dispute, but in that part where the line was to cross from one river system to the other, *i.e.*, from the Iguacu River to the Uruguay River, difficulties had arisen. In order to make the task of the surveyors easier, instructions were adopted by the two countries in 1751 which amplified the terms of the treaty. The surveyors were not able to start on their task until much later and special instructions were prepared in 1758. According to these instructions the surveyors were to follow the Uruguay River up to the Uruguay-Pita River on the eastern bank. Above this river they were to find another called the Pequiry or Pepiry River. This last river, according to the Argentine case, was to be above the Uruguay-Pita, was to be large, was to have a course southwest and northeast, a wooded island near its mouth, and a reef inside its bar. The surveyors in 1759 followed the Uruguay River to a stream just above the great falls of the Uruguay. The Indian guide told them that this was the Pepiry River, and they surveyed it as such. A short distance farther upstream, on the opposite bank, was a river which they called the Uruguay-Pita. Next, a river was traced from the Iguacu which was thought to form the balance of the boundary and which the surveyors named the San Antonio. This demarcation of the boundary was not accepted by either nation and was nullified by the treaty of Pardo in 1761. Argentina claimed that the demarcation possessed an "irremediable organic vice" and that, therefore, it was void.

In 1777, another treaty of limits was signed between Spain and Portugal. This treaty stated that the boundary line was to follow up the Pepiry or Pepiry-Guazú to its main sources, thence by the highest ground to the waters of the River San Antonio which drains into the Iguacu. It was not intended,

Argentina argued, that the boundary be subordinated to the names given to the rivers by the demarcation of 1759. The survey in accordance with this treaty was started in 1778, but because of disagreement among the commissioners it was not completed until 1789. During this latter year, the Spanish commissioners wanted to hunt up a river above the Uruguay-Pita, instead of accepting the Pepiry as surveyed in 1759. The Spanish surveyor, Oyarvide, did go in search of this other river and found one which he called the Pequiry-Guazú, now the Chapeco, and another stream rising near its source flowing toward the Iguacu which he named the San Antonio-Guazú, now the Chopim. The demarcation of 1789 was not accepted by the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal and the settlement of the boundary became a problem for Argentina and Brazil to settle.

Both nations presented proofs of the exercise of jurisdiction over the territory from the time of their establishment as independent nations, and both traced the negotiations between them since 1810. These attempts to settle the dispute by diplomatic means had proved futile.

The Brazilian statement referred to the treaty of Tordesillas chiefly to point out the impossibility of following it or proving anything by it. They based their claim to the Misiones Territory: first, on possession by the Paulistas since the early eighteenth century; second, on the principle of *uti possedetis*, having been in possession of the territory during and since the period of independence; and third, on the fact that the territory was indispensable to Brazil for security and defense and the preservation of inland communication between Rio Grande do Sul and the other states of Brazil. The Brazilian commissioners accepted the treaties of 1750 and 1777, the instructions to the demarcating commissioners in 1758, and the "Map of the Courts" of 1749 as the controlling bits of evidence. They presented proof, however, which altered the testimony of the instructions of 1758 and the "Map of the Courts" from what Argentina had intended.

Since Argentina had based its claim, primarily, on these two bits of evidence, the strength of its case was destroyed.

The treaty of 1750 was shown to provide for a boundary made up of rivers and mountains, with each party remaining in possession of what land it held at that date, except for mutual concessions which might be made. In Article V, the treaty provided that the boundary should be from the mouth of the Ibicui (about the present northern boundary of Uruguay) up the Uruguay River to the Pepiry River on the western bank of the Uruguay, up the bed of the Pepiry to its principal source, thence along the highest ground to the principal head of the nearest river flowing into the Iguacu. It should then follow that river to the Iguacu, the Iguacu to the Paraná, and the Paraná up to the Igurey on the western bank of the Paraná.

The "Map of the Courts" was shown to have been made in three different sets. The original set of two maps was used by the negotiators of the treaty to show the line of the present possessions of the two countries. A second set of three maps was later prepared in Lisbon and showed the same as the original maps. The third set of three maps was prepared in Madrid and showed the treaty line. Each set of maps had a signed declaration on it stating its significance. One of the original maps had been found in the French Foreign Office, no trace of the second set had been found, and the only trace of the third set was in an old collection of treaties, Borges de Castro's "*Collecção dos Tratados*". The declarations on the maps stated that the red lines were to be used, in so far as they were in conformity with the treaty. The map had been used by the negotiators in an attempt to avoid describing the rivers. The Brazilian statement tried to prove that the treaty had as its purpose the establishment of a line having a northerly direction. At the Pepiry River the Uruguay bends rapidly to the right (east), so that following it farther upstream would be taking the boundary line in an easterly direction contrary to the purpose of the treaty. Also, the great

falls of the Uruguay, Iguacu, and the Paraná rivers were the best known natural features of the region. It was pointed out that the Pepiry River was the first important branch of the Uruguay River beyond its great falls, and that the nearest affluent of the Iguacu River would be sure to be, and was, just above the great falls of the Iguacu. Then the boundary followed the Iguacu and Paraná rivers to the Igurey River, which was the first important affluent of the Paraná River on the west bank north of the great falls of the Paraná.

The instructions of 1751 were shown to have warned the commissioners of the possible inaccuracies of the "Map of the Courts", and told them not to "take into consideration any small portion of territory, provided the line is located by the most visible and lasting boundaries". The instructions of 1758 were shown by the Brazilian case to give no description of the Pepiry River, nor did they mention the Uruguay-Pita River at all. The description of the Pepiry River was shown to have been originated in 1788, thirty years after the instructions, by one of the Spanish commissioners. The "Map of the Courts" showed the Pepiry to be above the Uruguay-Pita and this provided the basis for the Argentine contention that the Pepiry River surveyed by the commissioners in 1759 was not the right river, since it was below the Uruguay-Pita. The Brazilian statement analyzed the early maps of the region and showed that in all of the maps before 1749 the Pepiry was above the Uruguay-Pita, but that both of these rivers were below the great falls of the Uruguay. The first map to show the Pepiry as above the great falls was a Portuguese map in 1749. This map showed the Pepiry to be above the Uruguay-Pita, but it showed the latter river to be below the great falls. The contention from this evidence was that the mistake of the commissioners in 1759 had been only in giving the name "Uruguay-Pita" to the wrong river, and since it had no real significance in the boundary there was "no essential error".

It was admitted that the treaty of 1750 had been annulled by the treaty of Pardo in 1761. The treaty of 1777, however,

was quoted to show that it followed the demarcation of 1759. Even in the Spanish instructions to the commissioners in 1778-1779 they were told to

guide themselves by the course of the Uruguay-Pita, as far as its confluence with the River Uruguay, because at the distance of two leagues and one-third, following the bank of the River Uruguay in a westerly direction (downstream), the mouth of the Pepiry will be found on the opposite side.

This was done as directed, but the Spanish commissioners wanted to find a river above the Uruguay-Pita and refused to complete the survey. In 1789, as has been stated before, the Spanish surveyor, Oyarvide, surveyed the river lying above.

Evidence was included in the statement to show that the disputed territory had always, since 1810, been under the jurisdiction of the Brazilian Government, and that there were no Argentine citizens in the population. The people, themselves, acknowledged allegiance to Brazil. To weigh the meaning and accuracy of the historical documents and evidence became the duty of the arbitrator.

On February 5, 1895, the award was given to the parties. It was signed by Grover Cleveland, president of the United States, and W. A. Gresham, secretary of state, the successors to President Harrison and Secretary Foster. After quoting the terms of the treaty of 1889 between Argentina and Brazil, which made provision for the arbitration, the award read as follows: "Now, therefore, be it known, that I, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States of America, . . . having duly examined and considered the arguments, documents and evidence to me submitted by the respective Parties, pursuant to the provisions of said Treaty, do hereby make the following decision and award; That the boundary between the Argentine Republic and the United States of Brazil in that part submitted to me for arbitration and decision, is constituted and shall be established by and upon the rivers Pepiri (also called Pepiri-Guazu) and San Antonio, to wit, the rivers

which Brazil has designated in the argument and documents submitted to me as constituting the boundary. . . ."¹³ Considerable opposition developed in Argentina to this award, but the government accepted the award graciously. On May 7, 1895, the chargé d'affaires *ad interim* of the Argentine Republic at Washington in a note to the secretary of state inclosed a copy of an instruction to Dr. Zeballos from the minister of foreign affairs in which the minister stated that, although the decision did not favor his government, it was accepted. Dr. Zeballos was directed to thank the president of the United States "for additional service rendered to the Republic".¹⁴

The Argentine people were convinced that their title to Misiones Territory was a good one, so it is little wonder that there were some rather critical and caustic comments in the newspapers when the decision was made public. The United States minister there at the time made the following comments in sending some clippings from Argentine papers:¹⁵

These enclosures will repay reading, reflecting as they do more or less the opinion of the press on the case in point and also indicating a disinclination to submit future and pending cases of a similar character to arbitration. It will be noticed that, with few exceptions, they criticize unjustly certainly the Argentine Commissioner, and in several instances, the labor expended on the case by the President is repaid by unkind and unjust references to the United States and to the President.

The *Times* of Argentina summed up the comment as follows:

The sober and legitimate organs of opinion like the *Prensa* and *Nación*, while lamenting the loss of territory, discuss the question with

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 2020-2022.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 2025.

¹⁵ State Department, Manuscript material, Despatch No. 95, Buenos Aires, February 11, 1895. Minister William I. Buchanan to Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham.

dignity, and like any rightminded person, accept the result as proceeding from an honorable arbitrator, as President Cleveland certainly is.

Señor C. A. Aldao, one of the commissioners, who spent several years working on the case, stated in a letter, printed in the columns of *La Nación*, February 9, 1895, that

I firmly believe that any man of honor placed in the situation would have proceeded as President Cleveland did.¹⁶

IV. THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO: THE A. B. C. MEDIATION¹⁷

Unsettled conditions in Mexico were the means of adding to the record of both the United States and Argentina as exponents of peaceful methods of settling international disputes. This time it was Argentina mediating between the United States and Mexico. On April 9, 1914, during Victoriano Huerta's occupancy of the presidency of Mexico, some American marines were arrested at Tampico, Mexico, while they were on shore for the purpose of buying gasoline. Admiral Mayo, commander of the United States squadron, immediately protested to the Mexican authorities. The commander of the Mexican federal forces in that district, and President Huerta himself, immediately expressed regret for the incident. The commander of the United States squadron demanded that amends be made by saluting the United States flag not later than the twentieth of April. He was supported in this demand by President Wilson, who put the question before congress and was given power to employ the armed forces of the United States in order to enforce the demand for amends for indignities. The salute was not given, and on the twenty-first of April, United States marines seized the customhouse at Vera Cruz. On the next day Chargé O'Shaughnessy was given his passports by the Mexican minister of foreign affairs.

¹⁶ The *Times* of Argentina, February 10, 1895, and *La Nación*, February 9, 1895. Inclosures with Despatch No. 95 cited in note 15.

¹⁷ This account of the A. B. C. Mediation is based primarily on, *United States Foreign Relations*, 1914, pp. 488-626.

The representatives of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the A. B. C. powers) at Washington then offered their good offices in the interests of peace. This offer was accepted by Secretary Bryan, for the United States, and the mediators were able to report on the second of May that all the parties had accepted their good offices. The United States chargé at Buenos Aires wrote, on the twenty-seventh of April, that the Argentine minister at Washington, Dr. Romulo S. Naón, had proposed the mediation to the representatives of Brazil and Chile, and that his own government had given him full powers in the matter.¹⁸

The conditions in Mexico at this time were in a very critical state. Huerta had gained the presidency through violent means and had been denied recognition by President Wilson. Being denied recognition and, consequently, being unable to purchase munitions and negotiate loans in the United States, Huerta was not able to put down the opposition to his authority. The constitutional party, led by Carranza, was making very substantial gains against the federal forces and was really favored by the Wilson Administration. Carranza, himself, however, had not openly communicated with the state department in Washington until the fourth of May. On that day he, through his agent in the United States, expressed a desire for continued friendship and unaltered pacific relations between the United States and Mexico. In accepting the good offices of the A. B. C. representatives, Carranza did so in principle only, stating that the events at Tampico and Vera Cruz were to be the sole subjects of the mediation.

The mediators called a conference of all the parties to meet at Niagara Falls, Canada, on the twentieth of May. Huerta selected three men who were not closely connected with politics in Mexico to be his representatives. These men were, Emilio Rabasa and Augustín Rodríguez, lawyers in Mexico City, and Luis Elguero, a financier. They were given very full powers. Carranza did not send any representatives. The

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 491, Chargé Lorillard to the Secretary of State, April 27, 1914.

United States delegation was made up of Joseph R. Lamar, associate justice of the supreme court, and Frederick W. Lehman, former solicitor general of the United States. Their powers were very limited and they were necessarily in constant telegraphic communication with Washington.

On the first day of the conference the mediators presented their project, which was to have Huerta appoint a minister of foreign affairs who would meet the constitutional requirements and then himself resign the presidency. In this way the new minister would succeed to the presidency of Mexico and a new president could be selected at an election to be held. From the start the conference considered only measures for bettering conditions in Mexico, and did not consider at all the incident at Tampico. Carranza had refused to discuss the internal affairs of Mexico in a conference with outside nations, and now refused, a second time, to be represented at Niagara Falls. His forces were so evidently the strongest in that country that he and the constitutional party had to be taken into consideration if any solution were to be reached. An agreement which he would not accept would accomplish little, and he refused to accept any project arising out of the conference. For that reason the negotiations seemed futile.

The policy by which the United States was guided in the negotiations was outlined to the special commissioners by Secretary Bryan on the twenty-fourth of May. He stated that the purpose of the conference was to find a solution of the trouble in Mexico, which did not require the use of armed force by the United States. The elimination of Huerta from the situation in Mexico was declared to be *inevitable*, and the completion of the present revolution was the end to be accomplished, that end to be hastened and to be without further bloodshed, if possible. Huerta, as well as President Wilson and the state department, considered his elimination from the situation to be *inevitable* and in a public statement issued on the second of June the Mexican delegation made known

Huerta's willingness to give way to a provisional government.¹⁹

The conference carried on until the latter part of June and protocols were signed providing for the establishment of a provisional government in Mexico, for the recognition of that government by the United States and the mediating powers, for certain internal reforms in Mexico, and for the relinquishment of any claim for indemnity by the United States and the granting of amnesty to all foreigners in Mexico charged with political offenses. Carranza was asked by the mediators to deal direct with Huerta, since he would have nothing to do with anything coming from the conference, but he refused to do this, except on terms of unconditional surrender.

The weakness of Huerta's position soon forced him to give up his vanishing power and flee from the country. The constitutional forces entered Mexico City on the twentieth of August and Carranza assumed the executive power. After securing the assurance from Carranza that taxes and duties collected by the United States forces of occupation would not be relieved and that those Mexicans who were employed by the United States forces would not be fined, the state department announced, through the Brazilian ambassador at Mexico City who had had charge of United States interests there following the seizure of Vera Cruz and the dismissal of the American chargé, that the port of Vera Cruz would be turned over to the Mexican authorities on November twenty-third and the force of occupation withdrawn. This was done as announced.

One influential Argentine newspaper—*La Prensa*—had been very critical of the United States occupation of Vera Cruz and, in that connection, had carried in its columns comments on the industrial [economic] imperialism of the United States. The conference at Niagara Falls was followed with great interest in Argentina and *La Prensa* published daily the latest reports of its progress during the entire time it was in

¹⁹ Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XVIII., "Peace Episodes on the Niagara" by Frank H. Severance, p. 41.

session. After the protocol had been signed, late in June, that paper had a long editorial on the subject under the title, "El Panamericanismo Triunfante",²⁰ in which the United States was praised for its part in the mediation as follows:

The example given by the United States translates itself into unimpeachable testimony to the sincerity with which its statesmen of first rank preach Panamericanism to the people of South America.

This editorial continued its praise by pointing out that the government of the United States accepted the plan of mediation gladly, facilitated the negotiation, did all possible to help it over the many troubles that beset it, and made no demands on Mexico in its own selfish interests.

What was accomplished by the A. B. C. mediation? The incident which gave rise to it was not discussed at all. The agreements reached in the conference were not accepted by the only party of any power in Mexico. The downfall of Huerta and the ascendancy of Carranza were almost certain, even without the conference. Perhaps this result was hastened by helping Huerta to a recognition of the "inevitable". Carranza did come into power and after a succession of successes and failures was recognized as the *de jure* government of Mexico by nine American states on October 19, 1915. This recognition was agreed upon by the A. B. C. powers, Bolivia, Guatemala, Uruguay, and the United States as a means toward more settled conditions in Mexico. An important result of the mediation was a somewhat better feeling on the part of Hispanic America toward the United States.

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²⁰ *La Prensa*, June 27, 1914, p. 6.

FRANCE AND THE AMERICAN DEPOSIT AT NEW ORLEANS¹

Although studies published within the last generation point to a different conclusion,² there is reason to believe that, in the period 1795-1803, French policy in regard to Louisiana possessed continuity and that the basis of continuity was economic interest. The argument against continuity rests mainly on the findings of Raymond Guyot, according to whom the Directory sought to recover Louisiana not for colonization but for exchange in the peace settlement with Great Britain. Later writers—Renaut, Fletcher, and Fugier—are apparently even more firmly convinced than M. Guyot himself that he proved his case.³ If the conviction is justified, it follows that French policy from 1795 to 1803 does not possess continuity, since it is generally agreed that Talleyrand and Napoleon did intend to colonize Louisiana. Even in the later period, however, recent writers seem to find little evidence of economic interest. Thus M. Fugier⁴ believes that Napoleon desired Louisiana as “a compensation for the possible loss of Egypt”,

¹ This study was made possible by a grant from the Guggenheim Foundation, and was facilitated by the kindness of Miss Cornelia M. Pierce, Secretary of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, who placed at my disposal a part of the manuscript of volume II. of Mrs. N. L. M. Surrey's *Calendar of Manuscript Materials in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803*.

² Raymond Guyot, *Le Directoire et la Paix de l'Europe* (Paris, 1912); F. P. Renaut, *La Question de la Louisiane, 1796-1806* (Paris, c. 1918); M. S. Fletcher, “Louisiana as a Factor in French Diplomacy from 1763 to 1800”, in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XVII. 367; André Fugier, *Napoléon et l'Espagne, 1799-1808* (2 v., Paris, 1930).

³ Renaut, *op. cit.*, 23; Fletcher, *op. et loc. cit.*, 370-376, distinguishes between the policy of the Directory before and after “the coming into power of Talleyrand” in 1797; Fugier, *op. cit.*, I. 26, 27, 30, 41. Attention apparently needs to be called to Guyot's admission that “On ne peut dire que les Directeurs aient eu à ce sujet un programme arrêté d'échange” (*op cit.*, p. 233).

⁴ Fugier, *op. cit.*, I. 106, 178, 181.

as a naval base, and (if it came to the worst) as "that *monnaie d'échange* that the Directory had vainly sought to obtain". Though he notes that, in 1802, Napoleon was seeking to win the title "Restaurateur du Commerce de son pays", M. Fugier apparently fails to appreciate the importance of the Louisiana project as a part of the larger plan of commercial restoration.

Such interpretations create in the mind of one who has approached the problem in a different way an impression of incompleteness. Many pertinent facts, relating mainly to French commerce with Louisiana, seem to have been overlooked. Since its acquisition by Spain the trade of the province had increased so greatly that its shipping requirements had mounted from six ships a year in the period 1750-1754 to one hundred ships a year in the period 1786-1790, and this trade had been carried on mainly by Frenchmen.⁵ In 1793, the outbreak of war between France and Spain had cost the French their primacy at New Orleans just as neo-mercantilism triumphed at Paris, bringing with it a revival of colonialism.⁶ New economic ideas and old trade connections pointed to Louisiana as a valuable acquisition, especially since, as the French government was well aware, the rapidly growing American West was beginning to pour its produce down the Mississippi and since the position of New Orleans afforded unique opportunities for monopoly. These considerations undoubtedly influenced the formulation of the policy of the Committee of Public Safety toward the Mississippi Valley in April and May 1795.⁷ The policy had two aspects: first, the recovery of Louisiana; second, the restriction of American privileges on the Mississippi which might impair the value of New Orleans. In 1795, the policy failed completely, for Spain stub-

⁵ This subject is discussed in the present writer's introduction to *Documents Relating to Spanish Commercial Policy in the Floridas*, which will be published shortly.

⁶ On neo-mercantilism, see F. L. Nussbaum, *Commercial Policy in the French Revolution* (Washington, 1923), p. 44 and *passim*.

⁷ A. P. Whitaker, "New Light on the Treaty of San Lorenzo", in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, XV, 438.

bornly refused to cede Louisiana and, against the urgent advice of France, granted the United States in the treaty of San Lorenzo the free navigation of the Mississippi and a place of deposit at New Orleans. It was still possible, however, to renew the demand for Louisiana and, once in possession of the province, to cripple American commerce and promote that of France by a convenient "interpretation" of the Spanish treaty.

It could be shown that the Directory, probably,⁸ and Napoleon, certainly, intended to follow such a course; but since an analysis of French policy throughout the period could not be compressed within the limits of the present paper, attention will be confined here to a single episode, namely, the closing of the American deposit at New Orleans in 1802 and its reopening in 1803. It is believed that, though microscopic in character, this study will be justified by its results, for it will show how the crisis revealed the economic interest of France in Louisiana and how failure to appreciate the importance of this interest betrayed so able a historian as Henry Adams into error. By a similar re-examination of other episodes data can be gathered for a new synthesis in which economic interest will receive due recognition along with the more familiar motives of French policy toward Louisiana.

The deposit had been established in accordance with Article 22 of the treaty of San Lorenzo, which stipulated that it

⁸ Two random instances of the Directory's interest in the question are: (1) In December, 1795, it asked that, in case Spain should be unwilling to retrocede Louisiana, France should at least be granted greater commercial privileges in Louisiana and Florida than the United States (Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Paris, *Espagne*, 639:99, 324. These archives will hereafter be referred to as A. E.); and (2) in March, 1796, the Directory denounced Spain's concession of the free navigation of the Mississippi to the United States (*ibid.*, *États-Unis*, Supplément, 7:31). If the Directory sought Louisiana merely in order to pass it on to Great Britain, why this hostility to the commercial privileges of the United States on the Mississippi? It can hardly be explained by the fear that the privileges would reduce the exchange value of Louisiana, for Great Britain itself was obligated by two treaties (1783 and 1794) to permit the free navigation of the Mississippi by the Americans.

should be fixed at New Orleans for a period of three years from the ratification of the treaty, at the end of which time his Catholic Majesty would either continue it there or else assign the Americans "an equivalent establishment" on "another part of the banks of the Mississippi". The American negotiator, Thomas Pinckney, and the resident minister in Spain, William Short, both knew that the article did not give adequate protection to the deposit privilege; but Pinckney, who was keenly aware of the difficulties of his negotiation, accepted the article as the best that could be obtained under the circumstances. Despite incessant bickerings between the Americans and the local authorities regarding the regulations under which the privilege should be exercised, no serious controversy occurred so long as Spain was at war with Great Britain—that is, from 1796 to 1802. In the meanwhile, the commerce of the United States on the Mississippi increased by leaps and bounds, until in 1801 more than 550 river craft descended from the American West to New Orleans, and some 200 American ships came up the river for cargoes. On October 18, 1802, the deposit was closed by a proclamation of the intendant of Louisiana, Juan Ventura Morales. No warning had been given, and the intendant failed to assign the "equivalent establishment" that the treaty seemed to guarantee. The proclamation did not close the river to the Americans, but it did interfere seriously with the ordinary flow of commerce.

Since the retrocession of Louisiana to France was by this time a matter of common knowledge, and since no other explanation seemed to fit the facts so well, the great majority of Americans jumped to the conclusion that Napoleon had dictated Morales's proclamation in order that France might receive Louisiana from Spain without the subjection of the deposit. The explanation is still a seductive one, but careful research has failed either to confirm or to destroy it. Henry Adams, while admitting that there was no documentary evidence of direct agency on the part of France, still—with dis-

cret reservations—represented Morales's proclamation as a "consequence of the retrocession" of Louisiana, conceived in the spirit of Talleyrand's plans, and adopted by the intendant on his own responsibility.⁹ Channing proved subsequently that Morales closed the deposit because a Spanish royal order (dated July 14, 1802) commanded him to do so;¹⁰ but the question of ultimate responsibility for this royal order still remains unsolved. It is still as true as when Adams wrote, that no documentary evidence of direct French agency—whether by way of dictation, request, or even suggestion—has yet come to light.

Circumstantial evidence on this point is not conclusive; and in so far as it is enlightening it raises a problem as difficult as the one that it solves. The balance of probabilities inclines us to believe that the order to Morales was a purely Spanish measure and that it was a consequence not of the retrocession of Louisiana but of the restoration of world peace by the treaty of Amiens.¹¹ If we take this view, how-

⁹ *History of the United States* (New York, 1889), I. 418-421.

¹⁰ *History of the United States* (New York, 1917), IV. 326, 327.

¹¹ On April 26, 1802 (one month after the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens), the correspondence that resulted in the closing of the deposit was opened by a letter from Soler, secretary of *hacienda*, to Cevallos, secretary of state for foreign affairs, transmitting information concerning abuses of the deposit privilege by the Americans. In June, 1802, similar information was received from Consul Foronda at Philadelphia. After a further exchange of letters, the order of July 14 (see note 10) was issued. Nowhere in this correspondence is there any suggestion that France was either consulted or considered; and Soler was shortly thereafter denounced by the French ambassador as an enemy to French commercial interests in Spain. On the other hand, French instigation of the order of July 14 is suggested by a singular coincidence, namely, that the order preceded by one day a note informing France that Spain was ready to surrender Louisiana without further delay. Both subjects had been under consideration at the Spanish court in April, May, and June, and Cevallos was responsible for the decision in both cases. It is quite possible, however, that the coincidence is not significant; or, if it is significant, that Spain was seeking to make trouble for France by its tampering with the deposit. (The chief sources on which the foregoing summary statement is based are: *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid, Estado, leg. 5538, *expediente* no. 16, "Sobre el derecho de deposito en Nueva Orleans, que pretenden tener los Americanos para comerciar á su sombra sin pagar ningunos derechos"; Jerónimo Bécker, *Historia de las Relaciones Exteriores de España en el Siglo XIX* (Madrid,

ever, we must then explain why the French government made no effort to have the Spanish government suppress the deposit on the eve of the French occupation of Louisiana. The answer seems to be that France omitted the effort precisely because of the importance that it attached to the deposit question. Under the treaty of San Ildefonso, France was obligated to respect the rights on the Mississippi acquired by the United States in the treaty of San Lorenzo; but, as has been stated, the latter treaty did not give adequate protection to the privilege of deposit against the sovereign of Louisiana, who might, by exercising the right of removal, substantially destroy the value of the deposit and thereby diminish materially the value of the right of free navigation. The right of removal was explicitly reserved to the sovereign of Louisiana, and the United States was not given any voice in the selection of the "equivalent establishment" in case the right of removal were exercised, nor did it have any appeal from the sovereign's decision, save to more diplomatic persuasion or to war. At the same time, if the right of removal were exercised once or if it were surrendered by the confirmation of the deposit at New Orleans, it was clear that, by any fair interpretation of the treaty of San Lorenzo, there could be no further interference with the deposit.

The question was as delicate as it was important and Talleyrand seems to have acted with a keen appreciation of this fact. His contempt for the Spaniards was highly seasoned with suspicion. Whether on the score of incompetence or ill will they could not be trusted to manipulate the deposit in the interest of France. He could not afford to ask them either to exercise the right of removal or to refrain from the exercise. Silence was indicated, and his communications to Madrid give the impression that he studiously avoided any reference to the deposit. For instance, as late as November 10, 1802, when he

1920), I., note 1, pp. 77-79; A. E., *Espagne*, Supplément, 19:44 and 67, two letters from Cevallos to the French ambassador, May 26 and July 15, 1802; *ibid.*, *Espagne*, 663:209, Beurnonville to Talleyrand, Madrid, January 17, 1803).

wrote a long despatch to Madrid on the navigation of the Mississippi, he said not a word about the deposit.¹² His silence can hardly be explained by ignorance, for the subject of commerce on the Mississippi had been called to his attention in a number of ways for many months past.¹³ The Spanish reply to his inquiry was equally evasive, for Cevallos said not a word about the momentous order directing the suppression of the deposit which he himself had obtained from the king four months earlier.¹⁴ Whatever may have been the reason for Cevallos's secretiveness, it seems likely that Talleyrand's object was to leave the deposit question *in statu quo* until France, in actual possession of Louisiana, could settle the question in its own way. This impression is strengthened by Decrès's instructions of November 26, 1802, to the captain general of Louisiana.¹⁵

Up to this point the interpreter of French policy has little to guide him but eloquent silence, and little to show for his labor but conjecture. In 1803, however, circumstances drew forth from Talleyrand's office expressions that might be described as unmistakable if their meaning had not been mistaken. These circumstances were the arrival at Paris of news concerning the closing of the deposit, and increasing pressure

¹² *Ibid.*, 663:68, Talleyrand to Beurnonville, draft.

¹³ For instance, by Livingston in April, May, and August 1802 (*Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 515, 517, 520); and by Gouvion Saint-Cyr on September 16, 1802 (*A.E., Espagne, Supplément*, 19:114).

¹⁴ Cevallos's reply was reported by Beurnonville in a despatch of November 30, 1802 (*ibid.*, *Espagne*, 663:103).

¹⁵ The deposit is not specifically mentioned in these instructions, but the captain general is directed to report on the commercial relations of the English and Americans with New Orleans, to refrain "from making any innovation in what he shall find established in that regard", and to "report to the Minister all and each one of the stipulations not cited in the present instructions". The instructions continue: "The system of that colony, as in all those colonies which we own, must be to aim to concentrate its commerce into the national commerce". Foreigners "must be limited to communications absolutely indispensable to the prosperity of Louisiana and to that explicitly determined by treaties". (*J. A. Robertson, Louisiana under the Rule of France, Spain and the United States, 1785-1807*, Cleveland, 1911, II. 366, 367.)

from Minister Livingston for a French guarantee of the American rights of navigation and deposit. Though it is unlikely that either Napoleon or Talleyrand had had any agency in the adoption of the intendant's measure, they now took steps to assure its permanence, addressing the Spanish court through both the Spanish ambassador at Paris and the French ambassador at Madrid.¹⁶ The latter was instructed to say to the king that the first consul had learned with lively satisfaction of the step just taken by the intendant of Louisiana.

En rentrant dans la jouissance des avantages qu'elle s'était réservé par son dernier traité avec les Etats unis, l'Espagne a pris un parti également conforme à ses droits et aux intérêts de la France.

A clever phrase that was—"et aux intérêts de la France"—for it conferred French citizenship upon a native-born Spanish measure; and the note concluded with an admonition to Spain to maintain its position with energy. More than this, the draft of the despatch contained a passage that explains, if explanation were needed, how French interests were involved:

Cette mesure, qui d'ailleurs ne peut pas être de nature à compromettre la bonne harmonie de l'Espagne et des Etats Unis a pour nous le précieux avantage de débarrasser la nouvelle colonie des entraves qu'un entrepôt américain aurait nécessairement fait éprouver à son commerce.¹⁷

This despatch was probably based on a memoir that will be discussed below and that sets forth still more clearly the reasons for French hostility to the deposit. As we understand its policy, the French government would have been much better pleased if Morales had let the deposit alone; but what had

¹⁶ A.E., *Etats-Unis*, Supplément, 7:319, Talleyrand to Azara, Paris, February 19, 1803, draft; *ibid.*, 320, same to Beurnonville, same date, draft. Azara's reply, dated February 20, is in *ibid.*, 321. For Beurnonville's reply see note 30.

¹⁷ Henry Adams does not mention this passage in the draft, although he refers to the note (*op. cit.*, II. 17). The passage was prudently omitted when the note was sent.

been done could not be undone, and France must make the best of it.

The measure that caused the first consul such lively satisfaction had already been revoked when Talleyrand penned his notes of congratulation and exhortation. Without consulting France, Spain had closed the deposit; without consulting France, Spain reopened it. The reopening was first directed in the devious way so dear to the harassed Spanish court of that generation. Frightened by the clamor that the intendant's proclamation had caused in the United States, it ordered Morales (February 16, 1803) to tolerate the deposit without formally restoring it and without revealing that he had received orders from the court on the subject. Then a still more alarming report concerning the belligerent disposition of the Americans was received from Minister Irujo at Washington, and on March 1 the king directed the formal restoration of the deposit at New Orleans,¹⁸ subject to a reservation that we shall notice presently.

Two months later Napoleon sold Louisiana to the United States. Did the affair of the deposit have any relation to his betrayal of Spain? Henry Adams thought it did not. Perhaps he was right, though he spoke with more assurance than the evidence warranted and his handling of the most important document does not inspire confidence in his judgment on this subject. The document in question is a letter¹⁹ that Talleyrand wrote to the French ambassador at Madrid, Beurnon-

¹⁸ Archivo del Ministerio de Estado, Madrid, *Legación de Washington*, leg. 210, Cevallos to Irujo, Aranjuez, February 16, 1803, *muy reservada*; and same to same, Aranjuez, March 1, 1803, enclosing a copy of the order to the intendant *ad interim* of Louisiana (transcripts in the Library of Congress). The letter of March 1 to Irujo states that the order of that date to the intendant was caused by Irujo's despatch of January 9, 1803. The *expediente* cited in note 11 contains information on this subject. Fugier states that at this period the Spanish court was extraordinarily well informed about the international situation and since November, 1802, had been apprehensive of a renewal of hostilities between France and Great Britain (*op. cit.*, I. 186-189).

¹⁹ A.E., *États-Unis*. Supplément, 8:19, Talleyrand to Beurnonville, June 22, 1803, draft. The translation in the text is taken from Adams, *op. cit.*, II. 61-62.

ville, on June 22, 1803, after Spain had registered a formal protest against the alienation of Louisiana. This is what Talleyrand said:

. . . One of the causes which had most influence on this determination [to sell Louisiana] was discontent at learning that Spain, after having promised to sustain the measures taken by the Intendant of New Orleans, had nevertheless formally revoked them. These measures would have tended to free the capital of Louisiana from subjection to a right of deposit which was becoming a source of bickerings between the Louisianians and Americans. We should have afterward assigned to the United States, in conformity to their treaty with Spain, another place of deposit, less troublesome to the colony and less injurious to its commerce; but Spain put to flight all these hopes by confirming the privileges of the Americans at New Orleans,—thus granting them definitively local advantages which had been at first only temporary. The French government, . . . seeing no way of reconciling it [this determination] with the commercial advantages of the colony and with a long peace between the colony and its neighbors, took the only course which actual circumstances and wise prevision could suggest.

In a paragraph which is quite as ingenious as Talleyrand's letter, Adams²⁰ disposes of the minister's case to his own satisfaction; but his argument does not carry conviction. He is correct in saying that

Spain had not promised to sustain the Intendant, nor had she revoked the Intendant's measures after, but before, the imagined promise.

With this exception, there is hardly a relevant statement in the paragraph that will stand up under critical analysis. To begin with, he asserts that Spain "had not confirmed the American privileges at New Orleans, but had expressly reserved them for future treatment". As a matter of fact, the reservation, which was a part of the royal order of March 1, 1803,²¹ was a boon to the United States, for all that Spain reserved was the right to negotiate with the United States concerning

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 62, 63.

²¹ The order of March 1 is cited in note 18.

the interpretation of what the treaty of San Lorenzo had to say about the place of deposit. Thus phrased, the reservation not only marked the abandonment of the Spanish contention that the deposit might be suppressed, but also gave the United States something that it had never had before, namely, the right of consultation in regard to the place of deposit. Henceforth, the United States could argue that, by the admission of Spain itself, the deposit could not be removed from New Orleans without the consent of the American government; and, since France could not acquire from Spain greater power than Spain possessed, the deposit must remain at New Orleans. Legal technicalities aside, and considering, as Talleyrand had to consider, the practical aspect of the situation, it was unquestionable that Spain's concession would stiffen the already firm determination of the Americans that there must be no further interference with the deposit as established. Talleyrand's statement was essentially correct: Spain had confirmed the American privileges at New Orleans.

"The restoration of the deposit", continues Adams, was not only reconcilable with peace between Louisiana and the United States but the whole world knew that the risk of war rose from the threat of disturbing the right of deposit.

While it is true that at that juncture "the risk of war rose from the threat of disturbing the right of deposit", the fact has no bearing on the question raised by Talleyrand, which is this: Was there a reasonable probability that the confirmation of the American right of deposit would make it impossible for France, possessing Louisiana, to maintain peace with the United States over a considerable period of time? Talleyrand had the highest authority for believing that in such a case war would be not only probable but certain. In January, 1803, Minister Livingston, speaking in his official character, had warned him:

The right of depot which the United States claim, and will never relinquish, must be the source of continual disputes between the two

nations [France and the United States], and ultimately lead the United States to aid any foreign power in the expulsion of the French from that colony [Louisiana].²²

There is good evidence that the French government was impressed by this warning, which, however, seemed to it only another reason for removing the deposit from Louisiana.²³

The most extraordinary portion of Adam's commentary on Talleyrand's letter is this sentence:

The idea that the colony [Louisiana] had become less valuable on this account [the restoration of the deposit at New Orleans] was new.

The idea was not new. In one sense it was older than the deposit itself, for as early as May, 1795, France had opposed any concession by Spain to American commerce on the Mississippi,²⁴ and the deposit was a vitally important concession. The most convincing proof that the idea was not new is furnished by the letters in which Talleyrand, speaking for the first consul, had congratulated Spain on the closing of the deposit.²⁵ When they were written (February 19, 1803), he still believed that France would take possession of Louisiana, and they stated specifically that the suppression of the privilege was "conforme aux intérêts de la France" and urged Spain to maintain its position with energy.

Adams's whole view of this question was distorted by his failure to perceive the hostility of France to the commercial privileges of the Americans on the Mississippi. Nowhere is the failure more obvious than in his statement, made in another connection, that Talleyrand had promised to respect

²² *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 531, Livingston to Talleyrand, Paris, January 10, 1803.

²³ The subject is mentioned on fols. 351 v and 352 r of the memoir cited in note 31. The writer does not state explicitly that Livingston's assertion is an argument in favor of suppressing the deposit, but the inference is clear, since he goes on to declare that New Orleans is "the key to Louisiana" and that the continuance of the deposit privilege would endanger France's possession of New Orleans.

²⁴ See note 7.

²⁵ Letters cited in note 16.

the rights of the United States under the treaty of San Lorenzo—that is, the rights of navigation and deposit.²⁶ A verbal assurance to this effect Talleyrand did give, but one wonders why Adams thought it was worth anything. Livingston certainly did not think so, and in reporting the interview, he made it clear that he regarded the assurance as worthless unless confirmed in writing by the first consul.²⁷ Such confirmation was never given, although Livingston tried repeatedly to obtain it.²⁸ In Talleyrand's last communication on the subject before negotiations were opened for the sale of Louisiana, he informed the American minister that France reserved its decision on these "rights" for further inquiry and adjustment.²⁹

To sum up: Adams attacked with success only those passages in Talleyrand's note that charge Spain with bad faith in reopening the deposit. He was altogether unsuccessful in his effort to destroy the main thesis of the note, which is that the reopening of the deposit was one of the chief reasons for Napolon's decision to alienate Louisiana.

It does not follow that because Adams was wrong Talleyrand was right. There is no documentary proof that either Talleyrand or Napoleon had learned of the restoration of the deposit before it was decided to sell Louisiana. The most we can say is that Talleyrand had received a warning which should have been sufficient;³⁰ but we cannot say positively that

²⁶ Adams, *op. cit.*, I. 444. Speaking of the instructions of March 2, 1803, to Livingston and Monroe, Adams says: "Madison required only that the Spanish treaty of 1795 should be respected, and this had already been promised by Talleyrand". The point is all the more interesting because it is obviously Adam's purpose to prove the futility of Jefferson and Madison's policy by showing that their only *sine qua non* had already been agreed to by France. In this case it was Adams, not Jefferson and Madison, who was taken in by Talleyrand.

²⁷ *Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 526-527, Livingston to Madison, November 11, 1802 (the second letter of this date; compare it with the first letter of that date, *ibid.*, p. 526).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 529, 530, 534-536, 539, 548, 549.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 550, Talleyrand to Livingston, March 21, 1803.

³⁰ On March 5, 1803, Beurnonville replied to Talleyrand's letter of February 19 (see note 16), and four days later he wrote from Madrid that the British ambas-

it was. Nor can it be proved by the records of the Louisiana negotiation that Napoleon had the deposit in mind when he decided to sell. On the other hand the absence of such evidence is not sufficient ground for rejecting Talleyrand's assertion. Information on the subject is so scanty that Napoleon's reasons for alienating Louisiana have to be inferred from our knowledge of his plans and circumstances at that juncture.

Viewed in this light, Talleyrand's explanation gives the impression of verisimilitude. Napoleon's plans, like those of his predecessors, were incompatible with the privileged position of the United States on the lower Mississippi. Not content with Louisiana, he looked to the establishment of a sphere of influence over the whole Mississippi Valley and perhaps over New Spain as well. Only through trade and traffic with the American west, the southern Indians, and the Spanish creoles could that project be executed, but it was certain that in this region France could not compete on even terms with American commerce. Precisely what restrictions he would have imposed upon the trade of the United States on the Mississippi we can not say, but the main lines of French policy are suggested by a memoir³¹ which was drawn up early in 1803

sador and the American minister were saying that the Spanish court had disapproved the intendant's action in closing the deposit (A.E., *Espagne*, 663:400, 419, 423). Beurnonville, who did not want to believe the report, tried to discredit it by enclosing a note from Cevallos on the subject; but it is difficult to see how he got any comfort from Cevallos's evasive note. As for Talleyrand, he knew from his own experience (in the case of the southwest posts, 1797-1798) that Spain could be both secretive and unaccommodating when French interests in the Mississippi Valley were at stake; and he would hardly have been misled by Beurnonville's optimism. In the ordinary course, Beurnonville's despatch should have reached Paris by March 25, more than two weeks before the beginning of negotiations for the sale of Louisiana.

³¹ A.E., *États-Unis*, Mém. et Doc., 10:341, "Mémoire sur la Louisiane". Some one has dated it on the first page "Octobre 1801. Vendémiaire An X", but this can not be correct since the memoir speaks of the current controversy between Spain and the United States over the closing of the deposit by the intendant of Louisiana (fol. 355 v). News of this event can hardly have reached Talleyrand before the end of December, 1802—Livingston had "just learned" of it on January 10, 1803 (*Am. State Pap., For. Rel.*, II. 531). It is not likely that the memoir, which contained advice on French policy in the crisis caused by the

and was probably the basis of Talleyrand's notes of February 19 congratulating Spain on the closing of the deposit.

Beginning with the statement that, since France was about to occupy Louisiana, it was important to clarify all the colonial, administrative, and commercial questions that might arise, the writer devoted the bulk of his forty-page memoir to the navigation and deposit questions, especially the latter. He concluded that France must respect the American right of free navigation. He was of the opinion that Spain must assign an equivalent establishment if it suppressed the deposit at New Orleans, and that it still possessed the right of removal, which had not lapsed merely because it had not been exercised immediately upon the expiration of the three-year term mentioned in the treaty. Most important of all, he held that, since Spain had not taken final action with reference to the deposit, France was not under any obligation whatever to maintain it at New Orleans. The only thing that France need consider was its own convenience. The deposit undoubtedly conferred some important benefits upon New Orleans, increasing its commerce, attracting merchants and capital, lowering the price of goods by competition and raising the value of land. On the other hand, it was far more beneficial to the United States than to Louisiana, for the American merchants would first make their fortunes at New Orleans and then return with their capital to the United States. The American people would gradually come to regard New Orleans as a mere annex to their western settlements and would be disposed to conquer it at the first opportunity. Worst of all, the deposit had inevitably given rise to an active smuggling trade with Louisiana:

Every city of deposit becomes a natural outlet for the goods that are deposited there; and it follows from this remark that, by continuing

intendant's action, was written later than Talleyrand's notes of February 19 (cited in note 16), since they show that he had by that time reached a decision on the question of policy. These considerations indicate that the memoir was drawn up between the early part of January and February 19, 1803.

the deposit of the Americans at New Orleans, France would hand over to them a part of the commerce of Louisiana.

The writer was, therefore, of the opinion that, if France should decide to continue the deposit for a brief period at New Orleans, it should be clearly stipulated that the privilege was temporary and revocable; and that, if it decided to suppress the deposit immediately, Spain could be required to provide the Americans with an equivalent establishment "on that part of the banks of the Mississippi which belongs to Florida"—that is, at Baton Rouge.

The writer concluded with the following significant paragraph:

La suppression du droit d'entrepôt n'empêchera pas que la France ne puisse accorder aux Etats-unis les facilités commerciales qui tiennent aux règles de bon voisinage; mais elles n'auront pas le même inconvénient lors qu'elles seront volontaires et révocables; et l'intérêt de la France est de dégager ses relations directes avec la Louisiane d'une concurrence commerciale qui, si l'on n'en appercevait pas le terme, deviendrait funeste à la prospérité de la colonie, à sa sûreté et à l'harmonie qu'il faut conserver entre elle et la Métropole.

This memoir shows that Talleyrand was not drawing on his imagination when, in his note of June 22, 1803,³² he represented the deposit question as one which deeply concerned France, and that he was probably telling the truth when he said it had been France's intention to compel the removal of the deposit from New Orleans. The Spanish order of March 1, 1803, made it legally difficult and practically impossible for France to carry out this plan, and thereby rendered certain the continuance of the "concurrence commerciale" of the Americans with its disastrous consequences. Henceforth preferential treatment of French goods and ships would be impossible and France would have to compete with the United States on even terms in the Mississippi Valley. Napoleon's prospects of ascendancy in the American west and the Indian

³² Cited in note 19.

country vanished, and it was probable that even in his own Louisiana the Americans would continue the economic penetration that had been proceeding apace for the last decade.³³ Nothing but military operations on a scale that not even Napoleon could afford would have remedied the situation created by the Spanish order reopening the deposit at New Orleans. Louisiana would no doubt have been sold if the Spanish order had never been issued,³⁴ but at the very least it gave Napoleon additional reason for satisfaction with the deal.

The crisis that followed Morales's proclamation evoked a clear expression of France's economic interest in Louisiana and of its hostility to American and British commerce on the Mississippi. The same factors were unmistakably present in the Louisiana policy of the Committee of Public Safety. If, as seems probable, they can be shown to have influenced the Directory as well, the continuity of French policy toward Louisiana from 1795 to 1803 can be reaffirmed.³⁵ While the

³³ Prefect Laussat was convinced that this would be the result. On April 18, 1803, he wrote from New Orleans: "The entrepôt, in reality, is only a large door . . . opened in favor of the Anglo-Americans to a smuggling trade without bounds. . . . The Anglo-American flag eclipses by its number here those of France and Spain. . . . They [the "Anglo-Americans"] are poisoning these countries with English goods, with which French goods can not compete. The French expeditions are, at the very moment I am writing, ruining their outfitters. . . . So long as that abuse [the deposit] is perpetuated, there is no practicable method of placing even any restrictions on it and of adopting any regulations which at least would allow the mother country to maintain the struggle and guarantee it protective encouragements." (Robertson, *op. cit.*, II. 33, 34). The economic penetration of Louisiana by the United States is discussed in a valuable paper by Louis Pelzer, "Economic Factors in the Acquisition of Louisiana," in Mississippi Valley Historical Association's *Proceedings*, VI. 11.

³⁴ Talleyrand's first statement regarding the connection between the deposit crisis and the sale of Louisiana was that Morales's proclamation had so irritated the United States as to threaten the safety of Louisiana (A.E., *États-Unis*, Supplément, 7:366, Talleyrand to Beurnonville, May 31, 1803, draft). This statement is not in harmony with his letters of February 19, 1803, congratulating Spain on the closing of the deposit.

³⁵ F. J. Turner, "The Policy of France toward the Mississippi Valley in the Period of Washington and Adams," *American Hist. Rev.*, X. 249, is still valuable, though it has been shown that Turner gave undue extension to the period of con-

Louisiana project was obviously related to diplomatic and naval strategy, it must also be studied as an aspect of commercial rivalry. Diplomatic history can seldom be safely divorced from economic history, least of all in the dealings of the old world with the new.³⁶

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tinuity. His article is primarily concerned with the political aspect of French policy and touches very lightly on the matters discussed in the present article.

"I have refrained from discussing certain obvious questions (such as the possibility that an ulterior motive lay behind Talleyrand's notes of February 19, 1803, and the polemical character of his note of June 22, 1803), since I have not been able to perceive how any reasonable answer to these questions could affect the thesis of this paper.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of South America. By CHARLES EDMOND AKERS. New edition with additional chapters bringing the work up to 1930, by L. E. ELLIOTT. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Inc. [c 1930]. Pp. xxxii, 782. Illus., maps. \$5.00.)

This, the third, edition of the volume of Mr. Akers, who died in 1915, includes no revision of the earlier form of the work. Verbs used in the edition of 1904 to describe current conditions still preserve the present tense. But there is a new arrangement of all material relating to the twentieth century. The concluding chapter found in the edition of 1912 has been omitted and likewise the "additional chapter, bringing up to date the political and economic conditions". Instead of the latter, sections on the twentieth century have been inserted in the chapters relating to each country. A chapter on Panamá has been added, and also one on "The South American Republics and the League of Nations". The new material, covering eighteen important years in the history of South America, adds a total of fifty-eight pages to the book; whereas, Mr. Akers used the most of 678 pages for his survey of the fifty-eight years from 1854 to 1912. Obviously, the consideration of the recent period is very summary and disproportionately brief. There is also much unevenness of treatment. In some cases facts of major importance are omitted. No mention appears of the Argentine compulsory election law of 1912, though that law is the explanation of Irigoyen's election and of many other changes coming to Argentina in the second decade of the twentieth century. Similarly, no explanation is given of Peruvian abstention from registering in preparation for the plebiscite on the Tacna-Arica question, or for General Lassiter's calling off the plebiscite: the reader is given the impression that both actions were arbitrary and unreasonable. A few specific errors were noted by the reviewer. Mr. Elliott gives credit for the discovery that the *stegomyia* mosquito is the carrier of the yellow fever germ to Sir Patrick Manson, instead of to Dr. Charles Finlay of Cuba and the United States medical commission headed by Dr. Walter Reed. A statement on page 681 gives the impression that the Gulf of Urabá (the southern portion of the Gulf of Darien) is "southwards" of

Medellin. The accounts of the building of the Panama Canal and of the Chaco-Boreal dispute are good, clear summaries. Apparently no attempt was made at analysis in treating the last eighteen years of development in South America. New illustrations have been added to the book, and two maps, showing the central and southern sections of South America.

In view of the scarcity of books on the national period of South American history, this new edition of Akers's *History of South America* will be welcomed.

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The Incredible Yanqui: the Career of Lee Christmas. By HERMAN B. DEUTSCH. (London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1931. Pp. xiv, 242. Illus., map. \$3.50.)

This volume offers a "something different" for which the reader occasionally searches. The pages dealing with Leon Winfield Christmas's early years are few, but they throw much light on Christmas the man. While engineer for the New Orleans and Texas Railroad, Christmas, in a drunken sleep, went through a station with throttle wide open and wrecked his train. This ended his railroading career in the United States. By now, his hopes of becoming a power in New Orleans ward politics had also been wrecked. Therefore, he seized an opportunity, in 1894, to go to Central America; and became driver of an engine on a short railroad running southward from Puerto Cortez, Honduras. Three years afterward he plunged triumphantly into Honduran politics. Abandoning his neutral position in the cab of his engine, from which he had been watching a fight between a handful of federal "outs" and liberal "ins", he grabbed a rifle and allied himself with the "ins", barricaded behind blocks of ice which his tiny train had just brought from the factory at San Pedro. The liberal "ins" won the victory and gave much credit to Christmas, who, as he later wrote, "was promoted to a capt. in the Honduras army liking the new game. . . ." Soon he went into the pay of Terencio Sierra, president of Honduras, and for nearly thirty years afterward he played varied and often prominent, parts in Central American politics.

Mr. Deutsch's work gives vivid details of contemporary Honduran political methods, and of "dollar diplomacy", as viewed by Honduras; and it also reveals why the Honduran congress failed to ratify the Paredes-Knox Treaty, which provided for a Morgan loan. The volume, written in journalistic, humorous style, is very diverting, for Christmas was a rare character. He had unbounded physical courage, self conceit, and love for intrigue; he had small respect for legal codes and moral principles; his ideas were often grotesque and his methods highly unconventional. The lover of the unique in personality will gleefully read that in his lean last years the one time "Merry Christmas" firmly believed that there was a fortune in shark's oil, which he planned to get out through money to be secured by inventing a rat trap that would kill the fleas on the rats as well as the rats themselves; and that he dreamed of supplementing the vast wealth thus to be gained by suing the *Encyclopedia Britannica* for its slanderous statement that in a revolutionary battle in Honduras in 1907 "Lee Christmas was killed". How Charles Dickens would have appreciated the *incredible Yanqui!*

The book is based on the soundest literary sources available, on the testimony of various surviving associates of Christmas, and on the writer's personal acquaintance with Christmas himself; and, in general, it is perhaps as accurate as possible. But on page 94 is a serious misstatement of fact: the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902 is confused with a treaty made between Great Britain and Honduras in 1859.

The author amuses himself and the reader by including among the documentary matter in the appendices absurdly wild statements from the contemporary press about Christmas's political activities in Central America.

Numerous illustrations are included in the book, and a pictorial map, which forms the cover lining. There is no index. The format of the volume is attractive.

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South America. By CLARENCE F. JONES. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. Pp. x, 798.)

Roosevelt's dictum that "South America is the continent of the twentieth century" begins to be justified in the literary, if not yet in

the economic world. An increasing number of books deal with this southern continent and its people, whose ways of thinking and living have heretofore been so unfamiliar to the people of the United States.

Professor Jones in this volume on "South America" has contributed richly to the history and geographic background of the civilization of these ten southern republics. The eight hundred pages in the book are replete with information, excellent illustrations, and maps. No work heretofore published in English affords such detailed studies of climate, topography, vegetation, population, and crop production. This information is accurately presented, and much of it is the result of first hand observation.

Jones's *South America* is clearly intended for use as a college text in geography. With a forty page bibliography, including some eight hundred references largely to magazine material and with a thirty page index containing hundreds of references, it qualifies for such use. The scientific treatment and technical language adapt it to graduate courses.

This book was evidently written less for the general reader than for the student. The treatment throughout the volume is regional, to maintain "the identity of each republic". The author seems to justify this on the ground that, "Though political boundaries divide natural regions, to the business man and geographer alike, they are significant phenomena, since they may represent effective barriers to trade and intercourse in tariff walls and other trade restrictions". (See preface.) The regional discussion, however, is dearer to the heart of the geographer than to that of the business man and general reader. The latter are much more intent upon understanding Hispanic American psychology which views life at a different angle from that of the Anglo-Saxon. The business man and the public need to know South American cultural ideals and to understand that Hispanic Americans question the validity of measuring progress in terms of materialistic achievement. Illiteracy, lack of sanitation, low standards of living and low purchasing power know no "regional" boundaries in Hispanic America, and they govern economic progress in all these southern republics.

The first and last chapters of this volume constitute valuable reading for the public, and their conclusions are entirely sane. Chapter I on "Is South America a Continent of Opportunity?" shows where and why Spanish and Portuguese settlements in South America devel-

oped gold and silver mines and neglected forest and field. In this introductory discussion we see how climate and the native Indian set a stamp on South American history and progress and caused them to diverge from our own lines of development. The author is sane and scientific in his conclusion that, because of South American conditions, "The fanciful hope of temperate people of a great potential producing region of foodstuffs and raw materials in the humid tropical lowlands seems little more than fancy" (p. 13).

The concluding chapter under the title of "Progress" summarizes the economic phases of the book. Two sentences in this chapter are keys to the author's conclusions on the economic side. "In the face of these handicaps and the contacts with white man [*sic*], the indigenous population is most everywhere on the decline" (p. 721); but "With peaceful conditions, foreign capital and men, demand for their produce in foreign marts and the desire of their peoples to rise in the scale of civilization, they [the people of South America] will undergo a tremendous advance"

HARRY T. COLLINGS.

University of Pennsylvania.

Ancient Civilizations of the Andes. By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1931. Pp. xviii, and 586. \$7.50.)

The need for a comprehensive study of the ancient civilizations of the Andes, embodying the latest in archaeological and historical research, has been met by Philip Ainsworth Means in a splendid manner. Mr. Means was well qualified by his field work in the Andes, his other archaeological studies, and his study of the ancient chronicles to undertake the task. The *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* is too brief to "claim to treat exhaustively a subject so vast and so complex as the ancient civilizations of Peru and adjacent regions". But Mr. Means has indicated the salient facts in the development of those civilizations, digesting in a critical manner the most recent in archaeological thought and incorporating it with conclusions reached through his own study of the archaeology and chronicles of the Andes.

Mr. Means's preliminary chapter on the geography of the Andean area, generally the type of chapter that one hurries through, is admirable in its description and clarity which make it both readable and

valuable in understanding his division of the Andean cultures. In the chapters on the Early Chimú, the Early Nazca, and the Tiahuanaco cultures, he has drawn extremely logical conclusions through a comparison of the early chronicles with archaeological evidence.

By far the greatest portion of the volume is devoted to the history and discussion of the Inca civilization where there is more material for study and less necessity to resort to too much conjecture. His critical use of the early chronicles in this connection is particularly noteworthy and reveals unusual familiarity with these sources gained through intensive study. In short Mr. Means has a masterly grasp of his subject.

Perhaps the greatest contribution in the volume is found in the chapter on the "Art of the Loom in Ancient Peru". While it has more interest for collectors and specialists it is valuable for its classification and description of various examples of Peruvian textiles.

On the whole, the *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* is a noteworthy book in style, in content, and in format. Its scholarship would meet the approval of the most exacting and Mr. Means has written in a style that shows both sympathy and a sense of humor so that all but the most technical discussions are exceedingly readable for the layman. The volume is profusely illustrated with well selected photographs and has an excellent and comprehensive bibliography.

It is significant of the rise of American archaeology that it has been published as a companion volume to Breasted's *A History of Egypt* and Olmstead's *History of Assyria*. It is more than significant, it is prophetic, if one holds with Mr. Means that:

Archaeology in the Andean countries is a living science which has to do not only with the past, but also with the present and with the future. In Egypt, in Turkestan, in Cambodia, in the classic fields of Greece and Italy, in divers other lands, archaeology is a matter of purely intellectual interest, being so either because the materials with which it deals are the products of peoples who have quite vanished from this world, or because those peoples' descendants are today so modified, whether for the better or the worst, that practical lessons derived from these products and applicable to the capacities and mental habits of their modern successors can be only very rare. (P. 538.)

He finds Andean archaeology to be a "vital thing at once full of the purest sort of intellectual appeal and of potentialities of application to intensely practical purposes"—namely, the understanding of the genius, the requirements, and the practical worth of the indigenes of the Andes, to the end that these bearers of the Incaic genius for things

artistic and political may cease being an oppressed, miserable, and despised race and come into their own. And that, says Mr. Means, is the soul of the subject.

RHEA M. SMITH.

Rollins College,
Winter Park, Florida.

Great Conquerors of South and Central America. By A. HYATT VERRILL. (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1929. Pp. 389. \$3.00. Illus.)

Stout Cortez. A Biography of the Spanish Conquest. By HENRY MORTON ROBINSON. (New York: The Century Company, 1931. Pp. 347. \$4.00. Illus.)

For many years the author of the first volume has been interested in Hispanic America and he has produced in rapid succession, between his writings of boys' novels and miscellaneous works, a number of books in this field. But his latest effort is hardly more than a new product from the same mill, and while it is interestingly written, as are all of his productions, it does not contribute anything to historical knowledge. He has simply described dramatically a series of stories already dramatic in their details. He has shown a number of the Spanish conquerors, particularly Cortés, Pizarro, Balboa, and Valdivia, amid the stress and storm of conquest. Yet these same tales have been told as well or better by Prescott, Bancroft, Helps, Bernal Díaz, and others. Besides, the book contains a number of mistakes in fact, there is no index, and though the bibliography lists forty-one works there is evidence that they have not all been consulted. The words "South and Central America" used in the title, if replaced by "Spanish America", would better describe the region covered by the volume. However, the book is not so lacking in merit that teachers should hesitate to assign it for reference reading in Hispanic American history courses.

Persons having the temerity to write a biography of Hernando Cortés will find that they can add little except imagination to the original accounts which exist concerning the life and adventures of that *Conquistador*. One, therefore, wonders what the author's reasons are for attempting such a work, and before reaching the inevitable conclusion is reached that rich financial returns were expected through

the popularizing of an old story in the modern manner. Such aims are not generally those of the historian but of the professional writer, and in this case of a poet, a novelist, and a glider enthusiast. In consequence, the book should be judged not as history but as literature. If this criterion be applied the volume may be considered an excellent historical novel.

Like the first book this is well written and most interesting, and it too has its historical inaccuracies and its mistakes in Spanish meaning. Unlike the volume above, however, it has an index, albeit scant, and no bibliography. The illustrations also are more numerous than in the first volume, and a good map of the route of Cortés is given.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

El Documento y la Reconstrucción Histórica. By JOSÉ MARÍA CHACÓN Y CALVO. (La Habana: Editorial "Hermes", 1930.)

This is at one and the same time a delightful piece of literature, an interesting argument on behalf of the document as the basis of historical knowledge, and a contribution to history through the medium of documents of the archives of Seville and Simancas brought to light by the author. Chacón (born 1893) has for a number of years been a prominent figure in the literary life of Cuba and Spain, in the latter of which countries he has resided since 1918, serving as a secretary of the Cuban legation. Eventually his literary inquisitiveness took him into the archives named above, and this booklet is one of what may prove to be many of the results of his enthusiasm for historical research developed there.

The essay under review represents two lectures delivered in Havana in 1929, following his return from Spain. In a well organized paper and an attractive, smoothly flowing style, Chacón presents his thesis on behalf of the document in the reconstruction of history. The first lecture is devoted to the Archives of the Indies at Seville, and the second to the Archives of Simancas. In each case a brief general description is given, with that of Simancas and its "farmer palaeographers" being particularly interesting. He then endeavors to prove his point by selecting hitherto unutilized documents dealing mainly with early Cuban history or with individuals who at one time or other were connected with Cuban affairs. In his talk on the Seville

documents he makes use of three items. In the first he shows that there was a heretofore unknown voyage to Cuba by Santiago Camacho, prior to the expedition of Diego Columbus. The second is a royal order giving permission for the importation of negro slaves into the Americas—a contribution to the controversy concerning Bartolomé de las Casas and the origin of negro slavery in this hemisphere. The third has to do with some official correspondence of the year 1512, showing that the Dominican friars had at that early date inaugurated the campaign against slavery in the Indies. In the talk on Simancas the author includes four items. In the first he refers to a file concerning negotiations between Spain and England. An outstanding document had to do with a proposed republic in North America; the document was of the year 1688. Next he discusses some documents about Miranda, bringing out the fact that even such remarkable studies as those of Robertson and Parra Pérez had not exhausted the subject. His third contribution covers some new material on O'Reilly, the well known eighteenth century captain general of Cuba. The fourth item has to do with some letters of Bernardo de Gálvez of 1781 and 1782, about an insurrection in New Granada.

The above contributions are, after all, only incidental to the main contention of the author, which, indeed, hardly needs to be contended for, in so far as scholars are concerned. It is true, too, that nothing about the famous archives of Seville and Simancas is brought out which has not already appeared in such works as those of Hill, Llorens, Paz, Shepherd, Torres Lanzas, and a number of others. Nevertheless, the charming quality of the Chacón essay is of the sort which might well popularize such ordinarily considered dry facts as documents and archives; and because it is also sound it should take high rank in the literature of its field. There are many typographical errors, but one is accustomed to that in books printed in Spanish.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California,
Berkeley.

De Soto and the Conquistadores. By THEODORE MAYNARD. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1930. Pp. xiii, 297. \$3.50.)

The De Soto story is an old story, but like all adventure tales it is ever new. And Professor Maynard's biographical sketch of the great

explorer of continents is in harmony with his theme of crusading and full of dramatic vigor. His apology, however, for the inclusion of the chapters dealing with the radiating lines of conquest that pushed out from Panamá into the Castilla del Oro and Nicaragua districts on the count of not making for "artistic effectiveness" is ill given. Historically speaking these chapters enhance the fullness of conquistadorial action of which De Soto was an initial agent, and give the Maynard sketch its most significant note. He has unwittingly illustrated the unity of "The Conquest" in central, southern, and northern America.

On the other hand the author's appreciation for the civilizing as well as exploiting motives of the zealous warriors of old Spain is boldly avowed in his introduction to the volume and is consistently sustained in the nineteen chapters which make up the work. Indeed, Professor Maynard has caught the Bolton theme that a "Greater Spain is over here" and has applied this note to the days of the opening of the Americas. The book is commendable, therefore, for use as a topical or collateral reading on the period of "The Conquest".

Maps and illustrations are illuminating and well selected. For the general reader, however, a comprehensive map compiled by the author, setting forth the various marches of the De Soto expeditions would have been welcomed. Regardless of "bogs and pitfalls" this task would not have been impossible. The central and south American routes of approach are clearly defined and the La Florida and Trans-Mississippi marches are not hopeless. Only recently I had occasion to determine upon the location of Cufitachiqui (Professor Maynard renders this Cutifachiqui). This find was ascertained by means of comparative data drawn from the De Soto, Pardo, and Woodward documents, from contemporary maps, from natural features involved, and from distances cited and otherwise known. The pearl kingdom of the fair cacica who entertained the De Soto band was in the general proximity of Columbia, South Carolina, rather than near Augusta or Atlanta where some writers have attempted to place it. The location, too, of such pivotal points as Xualla, Mavila, and Guachoya as well as the trek of the Moscoso men have been verified in Bolton's *Spanish Borderlands* and might well have been accepted.

The volume is quite free from typographical errors and the format or general make up of the work is a credit to the publishers. The bibliography is commendable. It reveals contact with a wide range

of material. A little checking of titles, however, would have obviated such errors as attributing to Pedro Menéndez de Avilés authorship for the work entitled *La Florida, su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, which was assembled and edited by Eugenio Ruidíaz y Caravia and which contains the Merás Memorial and numerous other documents (some of which came from the pen of Menéndez but many of which were written by his associates and contemporaries). Likewise, the citation for the map opposite page 268 should be Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

In general the facts relative to the De Soto exploits are well selected and vigorously presented. The Peruvian chapters are absorbingly graphic and impressive, and in tune with the dashing drive of the bold hidalgo and great crusader in American Spain. Professor Maynard has presented a welcome volume.

MARY ROSS.

Berkeley, California.

La Vie de Simón Bolívar. By G. LAFOND and G. FERSANE. [Vies des Hommes Illustres, No. 53.] (Paris: 1930. Pp. 301.)

Here again we have a biography of Bolívar. The growing interest in Hispanic America and the Centenary of Bolívar have provoked a deluge of articles and books.

This particular work is not really a biography. It is an uninteresting description of battles and skirmishes based on second-hand materials, and marred by quotations from Bolívar's proclamations and letters. The development of the hero, particularly in his spiritual aspect, and of his social milieu are not touched upon in the book. It is not Simón Bolívar that the reader will discover in this volume, not a living personality, but a little tin soldier. We, therefore, cannot compare this publication with either the popular biography of Bolívar by Ybarra, or the recent book by Miss Angell.

M. Lafond is known as the French specialist on Hispanic America and has published a series of volumes in this field. So it is somewhat astonishing that his book shows neither knowledge nor the comprehension of Hispanic American history;—and to cite two instances where this lack of understanding is evident, we have only to refer to the chapter on the Panama Congress and to the brief lines devoted

to Miranda. In the latter case it seems that the author is not acquainted with the classic investigations by Professor W. S. Robertson.

J. F. NORMANO.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

L'Esprit de l'Amérique Espagnole. By FRANCISCO CONTRERAS.
(Paris: Editions de la Nouvelle Revue Critique. 1931.)

It has become fashionable in recent times to look for the "lost unity" of the American Continents, for the "true" Panamerican commonsense. But the noisiness of this movement often conceals the real situation; and in spite of all banquet-eloquence and speeches, two different things are to be understood under the new continentalism: the North and South—or better, the Anglo-Saxon and the Iberic worlds—are speaking different languages.

With few exceptions, such as Waldo Frank (and even he), people in the United States are looking for business extension in Iberic American countries, and the latter are frightened at the "peligro Yanqui". The two worlds in America were never so far apart as now. The temporary renaissance during the World War of the old continentalism of the beginning of the nineteenth century already belongs to history.

For Spanish America the continental idea is the union of Spanish-speaking peoples in America as the eternal aim, proclaimed by Bolívar and revived now as a necessity for a defense against the "peligro Yanqui".

The recent publication by Contreras gives a new illustration of this problem. The book is superficial, the choice of the writers reviewed is mostly accidental, but it illustrates the political part of modern thinking in Spanish America. It cannot be compared with the American investigations in this field by such authors as Alfred Coester and Isaac Goldberg; it is, nevertheless, typical of the modern situation.

From the beginning to the end of the book, as well as in many of the works by the writers reviewed, politics influence the purely literary activity: the American danger dominates the Spanish American spirit. Not only the Argentinian, Manuel Ugarte, the apostle of the anti-Yanqui movement, or the Uruguayan, José Rodó, the prophet of it, and the Mexican José Vasconcelos (I should prefer in this gallery Francisco Bulnes, or the great Peruvian, Francisco García Calderón—neglected by Contreras)—but also poets, such as Rubén Darío and

José Chocano—also neglected in the book—are crying out in fear and hate against the danger from the United States—from this imperialistic state, which has appropriated even the name “America”. And just as sixty or seventy years ago, it was proposed to baptise Spanish America as Columbia in order to distinguish it from the United States, Contreras is averse to speaking about “Americanism” in modern literature, but has created the term “Mondonovisme”.

The book illustrates the growing tendency of the “Disunited States” in Spanish America toward union and the growing European rapprochement toward these countries, as a result of the American danger.

Contreras’s book does not touch Brazil and does not illustrate the attitude there: that country is going its own way.

J. F. NORMANO.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

A History of Hispanic America. A Text Book Handbook for College Students. By A. CURTIS WILGUS, Ph.D. (Washington, D. C.: Mime-o-Form Service. Pp. 747. \$5.00.)

A new textbook has recently been added to the two standard texts on Hispanic American history. All three of these books evidence the fact that the teaching of the history of Hispanic America has not yet become organized. All these books make the mistake of telling every detail of the long and involved history of this region. All of them give too many names without discriminating between the important and the non-essential. Since the college undergraduate is incapable of making this discrimination for himself, such a history leaves him in a confused maze of half remembered ideas. He is lost in a wood the paths through which he cannot find because of the tangle of underbrush. In the textbook intended for the college undergraduate this underbrush should be cleared away so that he may see the important trends and influences which have shaped the history of the country which he is studying, and so that he may learn to recognize the great heroes of the nation who tower like tall trees above the lesser scrub which obscures their majesty.

Robertson’s *History of the Latin American Nations* was the earliest scholarly textbook on this field of history. In it the author by including every fact obtainable after exhaustive research, produced

an invaluable reference book for future historians. In *The People and Politics of Latin America*, Miss Williams used this same mass of facts and names with the addition of more recent ones, to produce a well written and readable survey for the general reader. Professor Wilgus has again brought the story up to date but has repeated all this mass of facts already accessible in the two preceding texts. He might better have stressed the important names and events by throwing the spotlight upon them and leaving the crowded confusion of non-essentials in obscurity. Probably he realized this, for he says in his preface

because the subject matter is frequently confusing in content, it has seemed to me that a text in the nature of a handbook guide, stripped of much verbiage, could present in the best possible way the clear and comprehensive view of the subject which the college or university student desires.

The book is based on his own experience as a teacher, but it seems probable that he has been teaching graduate students or at least undergraduates more mature than the average. For such this book may be well suited as a text, but for the ordinary undergraduate who has no background of Hispanic American history and is trying to cover it in a year's general course, the book is not an improvement on its predecessors. The ordinary undergraduate has only a smattering of Spanish at best and fights shy of Spanish proper names. If he had only a few of the most important to learn he might remember them but when he comes across scores of names mentioned once or twice only, he gives way to the tendency to skip all names and to throw up his hands in despair of learning any.

With regard to the histories of the individual republics since they gained their independence, Professor Wilgus says that

it has been necessary to resort frequently to an encyclopedic method. . . . But perhaps this has its compensations, for the student is thus enabled to appreciate the monotony of, and the similarity between, the political histories of the several states.

Unfortunately, the student does appreciate this monotony and similarity, considers it uninteresting, and therefore does not trouble himself to differentiate between the various countries.

To the reviewer it seems that neither this view nor that of Professor Shepherd (dean of historians of Hispanic America in this country) who tells his classes that there is no more need of studying

separately the histories of the several republics of Hispanic America than there is of studying separately the histories of the individual states of the United States, should be accepted absolutely, but that a compromise between them should be effected. There are many interesting trends in the histories of the various countries of Hispanic America which have run a similar course yet which have differed in important details. To mention two of such trends, we might compare the conflict between federalism and centralism in Chile and Argentina or the relations of church to state in Ecuador and in Mexico. In making such a comparison the student will be forced to think, he will also have impressed on his memory vital turning points in the histories of the respective countries and the names of a few important statesmen in each. In adopting the chronological method of relating the events in each republic individually the author of the book under review has failed to do this. This is its weak feature as a textbook for undergraduate students who need more guidance.

It seems to the reviewer that one of the main purposes of teaching Hispanic American history in colleges in the United States is to create a better understanding among the peoples of the Americas. There is a stubborn and deep seated prejudice in the United States against Hispanic America as a region of earthquakes and revolutions. A history which lists all changes in government, naming each president and his successor in all the countries, without showing any adequate reason for such changes does much to confirm this prejudice.

While admitting that the first duty of an historian is to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, it must be insisted that his second duty should be to interpret the truth. Thus the student will better understand the truth if the historian admits the fact that there have been far too many revolutions in Hispanic America, but explains that certain countries have had more than their share of these revolutions, while others have had a comparatively peaceful and orderly development. The truth will also be made more clear if the historian, instead of enumerating each one of these revolutions, groups them according to whether they were mere political overturns of government or were fought for some vital principle. The explanation of these vital principles will bring out much that is fine in the character of the Hispanic Americans. In this respect also the book under review falls short of being an ideal textbook for a general course for undergraduates.

There are, however, many admirable features of this textbook. It is clearly and interestingly written; its freedom from "verbiage" and its method of paragraphing concentrate the attention on the subject matter of the paragraph; it is easily teachable; the early chapters on the geographical, ethnological, and European backgrounds whet the appetite for more; the topical discussions of conditions during the colonial period are well up to the standard; the chapters dealing with foreign relations are unusually full; and recent political events in all of the countries are brought down to a later date than in any other work known to the reviewer. As a textbook for advanced or graduate students there is much that will meet the approval of the student as well as of the teacher.

This history is by the author called "a textbook handbook". As a handbook it is much better adapted than as a textbook, for the faults due to the excessive number of names and facts already mentioned are essential virtues in a handbook. As a handbook of Hispanic American history it is undoubtedly the best and most up-to-date yet published. Not only does it cover the history fully, but the economic and social conditions as well. At the end of each chapter dealing with a particular republic there are several pages in which is discussed the life of the respective nation under "general economic conditions", "products and industries", "population", "educational conditions", "national literature", and "the arts".

The maps, of which there are seventeen full page, are unusually clear and give at a glance information which would not otherwise be obtained without searching through several pages of reading matter. The constitutional summaries, which are given in footnotes, for each country are brief, yet afford in a clear and succinct form all that it is necessary to know. These two are important time savers.

A new and valuable feature appears in Appendix E. This is an "Index guide to Hispanic American History Maps" in which are cited, by volume and page, 1400 maps available in some 170 standard books.

Other useful appendices contain the following information: A. Inter-Hispanic American Boundary Disputes, Claims and Arbitration; B. Hispanic American and European Claims and Arbitration; C. Some Syllabi of Hispanic American History; and D. Some Bibliographies dealing with Hispanic America compiled in English. All these will prove helpful to the teacher.

Bibliographical references are placed at the ends of the chapters to which they pertain. These include periodical articles as well as books, but not those in languages other than English, for as the author rightly believes, few students care to do collateral reading in a foreign language.

A thirty-two page, double column index meets the expectations of what an index for such a book should be.

In conclusion a few words should be said about the form in which this book appears. It has all the appearance of a printed book, although the type seems clearer and the page somewhat cleaner than usual, yet it has not been printed in the ordinary way, but reproduced by a mimeoform process employed by the Mime-o-Form Service of Washington, D. C. While the reviewer is not acquainted with the details of this process, he is informed that it reduces the costs of publishing a book, so that authors may utilize their books in their classes and thus try them out, correct them, and make additions, before the book is finally published.

The book under review is, according to the author's statement, in this prepublished form "so that its weaknesses and defects may be brought to light by actual class room use before a final edition is issued". With the exception of the general criticism made at the beginning of this review, it seems to the reviewer that there will be little need for correction of weaknesses and defects. He is glad to welcome it as an addition to his tools for teaching and can recommend it highly in its present form as a handbook of exceptional value for teachers and graduate students of Hispanic American history.

ALFRED HASBROUCK.

Lake Forest College.

Machu Picchu: A Citadel of the Incas. Report of the Explorations and Excavations made in 1911, 1912 and 1915 under the Auspices of Yale University and the National Geographic Society. By HIRAM BINGHAM. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930. Pp. xiii, 244. Illus. Folding map. \$50.00.)

This volume has a two-fold importance: firstly, it is the report of the expeditions carried on by Mr. Bingham and his party in the Inca country which has so long been awaited; and secondly, it has been so "cunningly" printed, that the report itself has been given an added

value through the medium of the artisan. To speak of the latter factor first, the volume may be called a triumph of the printer's art. It was quite legitimately chosen by the Society of Graphic Arts as one of the fifty best books published in 1930. It was printed under direction of Carl Purington Rollins of the Yale University Press on an all linen paper made by the Crane Paper Co.; and the edition was limited to five hundred copies. The most noticeable feature of the printing is the clarity of the illustrations which were produced in black and white by a special process. The presswork, both of text and illustrations, is most excellent.

The report is styled "Memoirs of the National Geographic Society", and some of the illustrations were previously printed in the *American Geographic Magazine*. Mr. Bingham's *Inca Land* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1922) relates the discovery of the ruins of Machu Picchu. The present report is designed to show the result of the explorations and excavations, and to give some indication of the possible significance of the finds without attempting dogmatic or positive interpretations. The volume is divided into nine chapters, namely: Exploration and excavation; The search for Inca roads leading to Machu Picchu; The plan and arrangement of the city and the sacred plaza; The architecture and masonry of Machu Picchu and its clan groups; The results of a study of the burial caves; The pottery of Machu Picchu, its form, design, and frequency; Metallurgy at Machu Picchu; Curious tokens and counters of stone and clay—tools and utensils of stone, bone, and wood; and The builders of Macchu Picchu. These chapters are illustrated by 244 illustrations. Much interesting information is educed.

The ruins had been discovered by Mr. Bingham in 1911, and thanks to the coöperation of the two institutions mentioned above, the examinations of 1912 and 1915 were made possible. It is almost incredible that the ruins were not discovered long ago. Still more incredible does it seem that the savants neither of Lima nor Cuzco knew of them. In his report, the author suggests that the "hidden ruins" "represent two ancient sites, Tampu-tocco, the birthplace of the first Inca, and Vilcabamba Viejo, the 'University of Idolatry' of the last Incas". Here, perhaps, fled the "Virgins of the Sun" upon the arrival of the Spanish conquerors. At any rate there is no evidence as yet discovered that the early Spaniards knew anything of the site. Whether the author's conjectures are correct must await the further study of

archaeologists, aided by the historian. In connection with the ruins, the question arises naturally as to whether there are other extensive Inca ruins still hidden among the Andes Mountains.

The narrative is free for the most part from scientific language and can be easily read by the layman. It is not given to many expeditions after all to make discoveries of such moment as the finding of a hitherto unknown site; and it is not always true that the discoverer has the good fortune to explore the ruins he has found. The specimens brought to light by the expeditions are now in the museum at Yale University, and are worth intensive study by archeologists. They illustrate many phases of the social and economic life of the old Peruvians. It would appear, too, that the ruins themselves are worth further study.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

The Voyages of Christopher Columbus. Being the Journals of his First and Third, and the Letters concerning his First and Last Voyages, to which is added the Account of his Second Voyage written by Andres Bernaldez. Now newly Translated and Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by CECIL JANE. (London: The Argonaut Press, 1930. Pp. 347. Maps. Index. £2. 2. s.)

Select Documents illustrating the four Voyages of Columbus, including those contained in H. R. Major's Select Letters of Christopher Columbus. Translated and Edited with additional Material by CECIL JANE. Vol. I. *The First and Second Voyages.* (London: Printed for The Hakluyt Society, 1930. Pp. clv, 188. Illus. Folding Maps. Index. £1. 11s. sd.)

These two volumes attest to the abiding interest relative to Christopher Columbus and his discoveries. They both deserve a foremost place among recent Columbus material. The first is typographically an excellent product of the Argonaut Press. The second (Hakluyt Society Publications, second series, No. LXV) is the first of a series of four volumes, all to be edited by Professor Jane. The two volumes dovetail perfectly, although some of the material is reproduced in each volume. Their editor is probably the foremost Columbus scholar today, certainly the foremost who writes in the English language. In this connection, one is reminded of the work of Miss Gould who has long been working in Spain on Columbus materials, but who

has been slow in publishing the results of her investigations—except for a few articles which have appeared during the last few years. One of the chief values of Professor Jane's work is the critical essay at the beginning of each volume. These essays, quite different in their subject matter take high rank for their sustained historical criticism. Professor Jane has made use of the scholarly researches of the Italian Cesare de Lollis, who published many of his results in the *Raccolti di Documenti e Studi pubblicati dalla R Commissione Colombiana pel quarto Centenario dalla Scoperta dell' America*, as well as of the British scholar H. R. Major (whose materials as above seen are incorporated, with additions, in the Hakluyt series). With the introductory essays should be read Mr. Jane's two papers published recently in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, namely in the issues for February and November, 1930, in which various pertinent suggestions are made. It can not, indeed, be said that Mr. Jane has succeeded in solving the Columbus riddle, and he makes no claim to do so, but his suggestions, supported by scholarly argument, are worth thought. It is quite possible that other scholars may disagree with these suggestions, but they can not afford to disregard them. Incidentally, the essays have been written in most excellent and forceful English which it is a delight to read.

In the volume of the Argonaut Press are presented new translations from Las Casas's versions of the journals of Columbus for the first and third voyages; the so-called letter describing the first voyage, the letter of Columbus describing the fourth voyage; and an appendix consisting of the relation of part of the second voyage by Bernáldez. The Hakluyt Society volume presents the Columbus letter relative to the first voyage, and materials relative to the second voyage, namely the letter of Dr. Chanca, the memorandum of Columbus sent to the Catholic Kings by Antonio de Torres, and that portion of the relation by Bernáldez treating of the exploration of the coasts of Cuba and Jamaica in 1494 (not included in the excerpt from Bernáldez published in the other volume).

In *The Voyages of Christopher Columbus*, the documents are reproduced only in English translation; in the *Select Documents*, both English and Spanish are given in page-for-page form. The translation appears on the whole to be well and judiciously made and in many ways is an improvement over previous renderings. The capacious critic will undoubtedly find some renderings with which he does

not agree, but any inequality in translation will not give a false impression of any event of the voyages. It should perhaps be noted that slight differences occur in the translation of the same documents included in each volume. The notes which form the second appendix to the first volume are of distinct value as are the footnotes to the second volume.

To this reviewer it seems on reading these excellent volumes and their introductory essays, that Professor Jane might have given more bibliographical details. These would especially have been welcomed in the first volume. Perhaps it is intended to present more details in the final volume of the *Select Documents*. It is hoped that this will be the case; for although the bibliography of the voyages is known to students of the early discoveries of America, the ordinary reader does not have sufficient data at hand to guide him. With regard to translations of Columbus documents, no mention is made, so far as this reviewer has seen, of the work of scholars of the United States. In noting that the letter of Dr. Chanca is published in English for the first time in England, it would seem that mention should have been made of the English version published by John Boyd Thatcher in the first volume of his *Christopher Columbus* (New York, 1903), and that other translations of various Columbus documents appear in that work and in other books in the United States.

These are small matters. The reviewer has little to criticise in these two volumes and much to praise, and he hopes that the other three volumes of the Hakluyt Society will soon appear.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

A "RECUERDO" OF JOSÉ TORIBIO MEDINA

Centuries hence, perhaps thousands of years, the name of Medina will live as that of one of the great bibliographers of all time—but good old "José Toribio" has gone. One of the happiest memories of my own professional career will always be of my association with that wonderful scholar and equally genial gentleman during two extended visits of mine in Chile. In recent years, perhaps, the people of Chile have dimly awakened to a consciousness of the fact that Medina must be one of their great men, since so many foreigners appeared to think so, but when I first went to Chile, in 1916, they seemed hardly aware of it as yet. If you had inquired for *the* Medina of Santiago, you would have been directed—to whom? To the owner of a string of race-horses, then well known in sporting circles. That is exactly what happened in the case of one distinguished foreigner who had occasion to visit with José Toribio.

My own first meeting with Medina was most casual. I had been educated to believe that José Toribio Medina was the super-man of Hispanic American bibliographical lore, and so it was natural that I should endeavor to present my respects, immediately following my arrival in Santiago. Not finding him at home, I betook myself to the next place on my list, the National Library, where I met a number of the men in charge. Several of us were conversing, when one of the librarians said to me in a most matter-of-fact tone: "Perhaps you would like to meet this gentleman who is working here", indicating a little old gentleman who had three or four books open before him. "Señor Medina, permit me—!" Well, I am some years older now than I was then, and incapable of the thrills I used to get, but that certainly was one of the most delightful moments in my life, for I felt the same sort of hero-worship for the great MEDINA as a school-boy might have for Babe Ruth. I chatted a while with Medina, and then prepared to leave, fearful lest I might take too much of the valuable time of José Toribio Medina.

"Wait a minute," he said, "and I shall go with you. I have already done enough work for one day".

I remember being astonished that a man with such a phenomenal output in published volumes could spare any of the daylight hours from his toil, but I did not yet know my Medina. He put away his papers, and we left together. He suggested that we stroll down to his house, where he could show me his library and printing establishment. So we walked down—went all through the house—and were joined by Señora Medina for tea. Many times after that I had occasion to visit with him, often in his Santiago home, and once for several days at his beautiful country estate in southern Chile. And I learned that Medina, the great scholar, was also decidedly one of the most human of human beings.

I had visualized him as a man of tremendous, almost forbidding, erudition, cold and precise in speech, and bent in figure with the weight of his years and learning. I was right, certainly, as to the vastness of his knowledge, but in all else I was wide of the mark. At the time I first met him (in August, 1916), he was not quite sixty-four (born October 21, 1852), a small man, certainly not over five feet four inches tall, and with a youthful vigor and eyes of such exceptional keenness that one might have placed him in the forties, despite the partial appearance of gray hair. Four years later, when I spent an entire year in Chile, he had changed but little. His conversation, too, had a lively sparkle, full of anecdote and jovial reminiscence. And, withal, he was a simple and modest man. He had heard of his world-wide fame, but hardly seemed to realize it; it was as if it belonged to somebody else, related in an indefinable manner to himself.

And yet what a life he had! This is perhaps not the place to go into detail about his achievements in the field of scholarship, but there are some phases of his early years which may not be generally known in this country, and they are worth knowing; in a sense they serve as a valuable lesson in the science of bibliography. His father, though a man of literary talent himself, frowned on the similar aspirations of his son, and planned a career of "practical utility" for him in the field of law and politics. Medina in fact became a lawyer, and a national deputy and secretary of his party, but even in those years he was preparing himself for his eventual work. He read with avidity the old chroniclers of the colonial era, and by way of variety displayed an interest in literature in general, in folklore, and in ethnology. He wrote several articles in these fields, and it may be interesting to note that he translated Longfellow's "Evangeline". In later years he

studied natural science and astronomy. All of these excursions into widely separated fields of learning he considered to have been of great help to him when at length he began his historical and bibliographical tasks. In 1874, he was appointed secretary of the Chilean legation in Lima, and this marked the turning-point in his career, as he found time to visit the libraries and archives of the Peruvian capital, and published several historical studies as a result of his investigations. Then for a number of years his life became a veritable Odyssey in the pursuit of knowledge. He resigned his official posts, and followed the career to which, all along, he had been inclined. In 1876, he was in the United States, attending the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. In ensuing months he was in England, France, and Spain, returning to Chile in June, 1877. A few years later he became secretary of the Chilean legation in Madrid, but was permitted—indeed, encouraged—to carry on his researches. It was not until 1886 that he returned to Chile. In the meantime he procured copies from the Spanish archives amounting to 365 volumes of manuscript, of approximately five hundred pages each. But this was not all. In the next six years no fewer than twenty-four volumes of works were published by him, most of them in the field of colonial bibliography, but several of them historical. A partisan of Balmaceda in the Chilean revolution of 1891, he was obliged to leave the country when the opposition won. He was in Argentina eight months, and then went to Spain, where he stayed until 1896. If his previous journeys had been remarkable in results, this was even more so. In seven years, following his return to Chile in 1896, he published no fewer than seventy-eight volumes! Most were bibliographies, but others were documents, with notes by Medina, and still others were volumes of history. In 1902, he left Chile on a new voyage of discovery, going successively to Lima, Guatemala, and to various cities of Mexico. The libraries of France and Italy, including that of the Vatican in Rome, were next on his itinerary. In 1904, he was in Chile again, and there followed another “orgy” of publication. In the next eight years he produced more than sixty volumes, and brought to a close his monumental works on the bibliography of the Americas—not that he gave up bibliographical publication henceforth, but what do a few volumes here and there amount to, in the case of a man who “exuded” books as easily as did Medina? After 1912, however, in which year he made his fourth visit to Spain, he devoted himself more particularly to historical work,

being especially interested for a number of years in his studies of Ercilla, author of the famous Chilean epic "La Araucana". Ever since boyhood his greatest ambition had been to produce a life of Ercilla, and at the time I visited Medina in 1916 he was about to publish the last two volumes in this great four-volume work.

Other works followed, but let somebody else give the list. Here I might better use space in telling a bit more concerning the man himself. One of the pleasures of a visit in the Medina home was the opportunity to enjoy the gracious conversation of Señora Medina, or Mercedes Ibáñez de Medina, to give the name in its Spanish form. She was immensely proud of her husband and unaffectedly devoted to him. "The two principal duties of a wife", she once said to me, "are to help her husband when she can, and not disturb him at other times". Surely an interesting marital philosophy! She was in the habit of reading proof, making out bibliographical cards, and doing various bits of intellectual drudgery. One day an American professor and his wife came to the house when Medina was out, whereupon the señora showed them about. She did it with such enthusiasm and understanding that the gentleman said: "I now understand why Señor Medina has been able to accomplish so much. He is *two*".

It was at table that one saw José Toribio Medina at his best as a human being, as his conversation was a veritable stream of joviality and anecdote. "Did you know I very nearly became an American?" he asked. And then he told how he and a friend took rooms with a private family in Philadelphia in 1876, and never left the house for a single night, so attractive were the two daughters of the family. That for historical investigation! The friend married one of the girls, and Medina was not quite sure why he didn't marry the other. Needless to say, it was later that he met Mercedes Ibáñez. Stories connected with his intellectual pursuits seemed ever on the tip of his tongue. There was his copy of the "Laudationes quinque" of Bernabé Echeñique, for example, a work published at Córdoba in 1766, and the first work in the history of printing in Argentina, now in the rare book class. It seems that there were five copies of this work in the rich library of the Franciscans of Córdoba. One day an Argentinian "bibliomaniac" visited the library, and as his instincts for collection by any and all means were well known to the friars he was closely watched. At length the visitor came upon the five copies of the "Laudationes quinque", and he felt that he must obtain them, come what might.

How to get rid of the attendant was the question. Presently he had an idea: he pretended to faint, and fell like one dead to the floor. The startled attendant ran for help—and the bibliophile pocketed all five copies. One of these he gave to Bartolomé Mitre, who in turn gave it to Medina.

Medina was in Guatemala during the rule of the notorious dictator Estrada Cabrera, and worked in a building which was only a step from police headquarters. Now and then his bibliographical toil was interrupted by shots at the latter edifice, as prisoners were executed, which happened almost daily. There came a day when Medina was invited to an audience with the president. A friend told Medina that officers were posted behind curtains in the audience hall, with revolvers cocked, and ready to shoot a guest who made the least motion which seemed to them suspicious, whereupon Medina did not accept the invitation. Later, however, he became quite well acquainted with Estrada Cabrera. Nevertheless, when he left the country, he had to get a permit from the minister of the interior, and was not allowed to embark at San José until a telegram had been received from the president. This procedure was being followed in all cases in those days, even for foreign diplomats.

And now José Toribio has gone; the great Medina remains—great in all the world of scholarship and for centuries to come—great now, perhaps, even in Chile, which did not fully understand him while he lived. "I sometimes wish my husband had been born in England or the United States", Señora Medina once said; "there they esteem a man for what he does, but here, if one says nothing about himself, people think he amounts to nothing. My husband is too modest; he will not praise himself." When James Bryce visited at the house of Medina and realized the enormous value of Medina's work, held up, however, for lack of funds, he is said to have remarked: "If some wealthy Americans, like Carnegie or Huntington, could be brought to realize under what difficulties you are doing your work, they would almost certainly wish to assist you financially". A Chilean senator was present at the time. "No", replied Medina, "it is not necessary; the Chilean government gives me all I need". "Out of patriotism", said Señora Medina, who was telling the story, "he would not speak the truth, which was quite different". "And besides", added Medina, with a twinkle in his eye, "I was trying to produce an effect on the Chilean senator, but it did not work".

And yet, under any circumstances, could José Toribio Medina have produced much more than he did.

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THE DEATH OF PEDRO DE ALVARADO:
A STUDY IN LEGEND-MAKING

Pedro de Alvarado, the *adelantado*, at the time of his death in 1541, was, perhaps, the most popular and powerful man in the Indies. The great place he occupies in the popular imagination accounts for the many picturesque stories that early became current about him. A case in point is the story of his death. The accident that led to his death—he was crushed by a falling horse—was witnessed by a number of his men and he died surrounded by friends. Hence, unlike most events of this tempestuous period, Alvarado's death is abundantly documented. Nevertheless, chroniclers and historians have persisted in including many interesting details that investigation shows to be very likely folklore.

In the province of Avalos, New Spain, about Christmas, 1540, the great viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, was making some official visits, while Pedro de Alvarado was occupied near by in preparing their joint expeditions for the exploration of the west coast of New Spain, the "Lequios", and Cathay. In the neighboring province of New Galicia the Indians, seizing the opportunity offered by the absence of their governor, Coronado, arose in revolt. At the news of this trouble, Mendoza went to Guadalajara and undertook negotiations with the Indians. Failing in them, he called a *junta* composed of Bishop Marroquín of Guatemala, Cristóbal de Oñate, lieutenant governor of New Galicia, Pedro de Alvarado, and all the government officers and religious of Guadalajara, to discuss means of suppressing the outbreak.¹

The junta met about the beginning of April and decided Oñate would be able to handle the affair with the troops he had with him at Guadalajara. Mendoza waited until Oñate had departed against the rebels and then returned to Mexico with Alvarado, arriving there on April 22.² In Mexico, Mendoza and Alvarado made out the instruc-

¹ "Descargos del virrey". In Pérez de Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago de Compostela, 1929), appendix, 158.

² *Actas del cabildo de México* (Mexico, 1874), IV. 236, 241.

tions for the expedition up the west coast which was to be under the command of Diego López de Zúñiga.³ These instructions bear the date of April 29. Shortly thereafter, and possibly bearing these instructions personally, Alvarado left for the west coast to continue his supervision of the two expeditions.

Oñate, as it turned out, had underestimated the strength of the natives and was severely defeated at the fortified rock of Mixtón. Forced to retreat and aware of the danger to Guadalajara from the elated Indians, he sent a call for help to the viceroy at Mexico and to Alvarado at Zapotlán. Mendoza sent word to Alvarado to drop work on the fleet and go to the relief of Oñate and, at the same time, he sent a force of a hundred men to Guadalajara from Mexico. Alvarado may or may not have awaited the order of the viceroy. With the greatest dispatch he garrisoned threatened points in Avalos and with a hundred picked men hastened by forced marches to Guadalajara, reaching there in two days,⁴ probably on June 12, as our one authority for that date has it.⁵

The best account we have of what happened to Alvarado is that of the viceroy, given as part of his defense in his *residencia*:

The truth of the matter is that after the adelantado and Don Luis de Castilla and Cristóbal de Oñate, lieutenant governor of the province, had provided the necessary garrisons from the men of my fleets, they went to the peñol of Nochistlán where the rebellious Indians were fortified, and after arriving at the peñol, they attacked it; and the Indians not only defeated them, but did great damage to the Spaniards and the Indian auxiliaries. And when they saw that the water was rising and that the terrain was such that they could not use their horses, they decided to break camp and return to Guadalajara. The Indians who had been surrounded sallied from the peñol in pursuit of the rear-guard, and in a bad pass the horse of a squire fell and struck the adelantado and he, not being able to avoid it, was struck and carried down rolling, and was so badly injured from the fall that he died six days later in the city of Guadalajara. . . .⁶

Among the witnesses the viceroy called in his *residencia* was Cristóbal de Oñate himself. After the fashion of the day the witness was

³ H. R. Wagner, "Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast". In *California Historical Society Quarterly*, VI. 324-329.

⁴ "Descargos del virrey", 159.

⁵ Antonio Tello, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 389. In *Documentos inéditos para la historia de México* (Mexico, 1866), II. 342-437.

⁶ "Descargos del virrey", 159.

required to affirm or deny statements that were read to him. The witness was asked (question 29):

Whether he knew that the said Adelantado Alvarado with all the men he had and could collect went to join the said Cristóbal de Oñate and, thinking that he had a sufficient number of men to reduce the said peñol of Nochistlán, went against it, and that the Indians of the peñol defeated him and killed many men and forced him to retreat, and that while he was returning the adelantado died.⁷

Oñate replied that:

It is as is contained in the question . . . , as the witness was with the said adelantado and saw happen what is contained in the question.⁸

It should be noted, in the light of later accounts, that Mendoza and Oñate both state that Oñate was with Alvarado at Nochistlán. The only other statement we have by an eyewitness is that of a certain old soldier, Cristóbal Méndez, who, some eighteen years after the affair at Nochistlán, had occasion to bring his services to the attention of the crown:

At the time [of the rebellion] Don Pedro de Alvarado was in the province of Avalos with armed men to go to the Spice Islands and, having received news of the damage the Indians had done, he came to the aid of the said Cristóbal de Oñate; and gathering together all the men that could be found, the said Pedro de Alvarado and Miguel de Ybarra and Don Luis de Castilla and Juan de Alvarado, captains, attacked a peñol of Nochistlán where there were many rebel Indians; and in the attack the men of the peñol killed the Spaniards and I was very badly wounded in the attack; and when the captains saw the great strength of the Indians they withdrew in order to return to Guadalajara, and the said Indians attacked the Spaniards, shooting them with arrows and killing horses and men and stealing all we had; and in a pass the horse of Don Pedro de Alvarado fell, and he died, and with great difficulty we reached Guadalajara.⁹

Two other Mendoza documents concern Alvarado's death. The first is a letter to the *cabildo* of Santiago, Guatemala, announcing the death of the adelantado and appointing Francisco de la Cueva in his

⁷ "Descargos del virrey", fol. lxxxiv. MS. in the Archivo General de Indias, Justicia, legajo 259. Bustamante published only a few of the *descargos* (see *ante*, note 1).

⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. evii.

⁹ "Evidence submitted regarding the services of Cristóbal Méndez with Cristóbal de Oñate and Francisco Vázquez Coronado. Mexico, November 7, 1559". In *Historical documents relating to New Mexico* (Washington, 1923), I. 42-44.

place.¹⁰ The second is a letter to Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the *alcaide* of the fortress of Santo Domingo, describing the affair in considerable detail:

As the adelantado was busying himself in this matter [the preparation of the fleets], it happened that some Indians in New Galicia defeated a certain captain [Oñate] because of his own carelessness; and as he [Alvarado] was near by with his men, he wished to go and serve his Majesty by settling the affair. He reached a peñol where the Indians were fortified and, while going about to see where to attack it, his men got out of hand and five Spaniards were killed before he could collect them. It was raining so heavily and the weather was so bad that he was forced to retire to Guadalajara and, while so doing, in a bad pass a servant who was riding higher than he fell and struck the adelantado, carrying him down the slope three or four turns without his being able to prevent it, and he was so badly injured that he died three days later.¹¹

As this letter was written for inclusion in the great *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, it was natural for Mendoza to minimize the importance of the most serious setback the Spaniards had suffered. It was brought out in his *residencia*, for example, that twelve or thirteen men lost their lives at Nochistlán.¹²

Thus far the story is admirably clear. There is the minor discrepancy in the two Mendoza documents regarding the number of days Alvarado lived after his accident, and then one could wish for dates, but no date is mentioned in any first hand account, to the confusion of later writers.

The variants on the story of Alvarado's death begin immediately, with the great Oviedo, who, forgetting the viceroy's letter that he has quoted in his preceding volume, says that Alvarado was killed in the

¹⁰ Mendoza to the cabildo of Santiago, July 15, 1541. In Antonio de Remesal, *Historia de . . . Guatemala*, pp. 165-166. Remesal had this letter mistakenly dated July 5 and was greatly puzzled thereat, because Alvarado died not earlier than July 5 in Guadalajara, some 250 miles from Mexico, where Mendoza wrote it. H. R. Wagner, in his article mentioned above (p. 322), was the first in this country to call attention to the correct date. The present writer is greatly indebted to Sr. Arévalo Martínez, librarian of the Biblioteca Nacional of Guatemala, who has a photographic copy of Mendoza's letter made by his grandfather, and to Mr. G. K. Donald, United States consul general at Guatemala, for their courtesy in verifying this date.

¹¹ Mendoza to Oviedo, October 6, 1541. In Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1851-1855), III. 540.

¹² *Cargos contra Mendoza*, fol. vii. MS. in the Archivo general de Indias, Justicia, legajo 259.

attack on the peñol and was brought to Jalisco, "where he gave up his soul to God eight days later".¹³

The first writer to give dates for the accident and the death of Alvarado is Father Motolinía, who puts the action on St. Peter and St. Paul's Day (June 29), and has the adelantado die on July 1 at Jalisco or Ezatlán.¹⁴

Bernal Díaz del Castillo has Alvarado die intestate at Purificación, giving no dates whatever.¹⁵

Gómara, writing somewhat earlier than Bernal Díaz, puts the action on St. John's Day (June 24), a date that may very well be correct, but, like Motolinía, he has Alvarado die at Ezatlán:

And a few days later he died at Ezatlán, three hundred leagues from Guatemala, in his right mind and like a Christian. When asked what pained him, he always answered, his soul.¹⁶

This is the first mention of a dying speech, which is the forerunner of a long series.

Gómara's is the last contemporary account. Confusion becomes the rule with the second generation after the event. An account written in 1584 by Baltasar de Obregón correctly places the action at Nochistlán and Alvarado's death at Guadalajara, but dates the affair in May, 1540.¹⁷

Gerónimo de Mendieta, writing his *Historia eclesiástica indiana* toward the close of the sixteenth century, follows Motolinía for the date of the action (June 29), but has Alvarado live for four days afterward.¹⁸

Antonio de Herrera's *Historia general* rather surprisingly gives no dates or places for the Nochistlán disaster. On the other hand, he introduces an entirely novel circumstance, that is, that the Spaniards were defeated through the zeal and foolhardiness of a certain Captain Falcón, commanding 100 foot and 5,000 Indian allies. This captain, it seems, contrary to orders, attacked the peñol without

¹³ Oviedo, *op. cit.*, IV. 26.

¹⁴ Toribio de Motolinía, *Memoriales* (Mexico, 1903), pp. 224-226.

¹⁵ Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1904), II. 434.

¹⁶ Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia de las Indias* (Antwerp, 1554), p. 269.

¹⁷ Baltasar de Obregón, *Historia de los descubrimientos antiguos y modernos de la Nueva España* (Mexico, 1924), pp. 32-33.

¹⁸ Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (Mexico, 1870), p. 388.

awaiting the arrival of the horse and was completely defeated. The Spaniards were forced to retire to Yahualica, where they had to ford a stream. The far bank was very steep and, as Alvarado was climbing it, a horse came rolling down upon him from above, crushing him, and he died three days later.¹⁹

Herrera's story should be authoritative, as he was the *coronista real* of the Indies and had all the archives at his disposal. We already know from the Mendoza papers that Alvarado had gone on a tour of reconnaissance. He must have left some one in command, but if such a person was a Captain Falcón and he was responsible for the most severe defeat the Spaniards ever sustained at the hands of the Indians, why does his name appear nowhere in the papers of the Mendoza *residencia*, where the whole business was thoroughly aired? Moreover, Falcón's name is not mentioned in any account up to that of Herrera, which was written about 1600. One is tempted to believe that Captain Falcón is a fictional scapegoat. He will appear again.

Antonio de Remesal wrote his valuable *Historia . . . de Guatemala* a few years later. He professed to base his narrative on documents from the archives of Guatemala, but he has Alvarado starting from Mexico on his last campaign and going to the aid of Diego López de Zúñiga at Ezatlán. He has the fatal collision with the horse occur during the attack on the peñol, as in Oviedo, and gives the date as June 24, as in Gómara. He also repeats the dying speech of Alvarado about his soul. He includes, however, two valuable documents: Mendoza's letter to the cabildo of Santiago and Alvarado's will, which is dated July 4, 1541.²⁰

By far the most important of these early secondary accounts is Father Tello's *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, written about 1650. In every major particular his account of Alvarado's death agrees with the documents. At the same time he brings in so many new and novel-esque details that his narrative swells to the dimensions of an epic. It is his inclusion of typical folklore material that makes Tello's book especially interesting, and its importance lies in its having been used almost exclusively by subsequent writers as the great source for the Mixtón war. It will have to be described at some length.

¹⁹ Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general* (Madrid, 1601), década vii, libro ii, cap. xi.

²⁰ Antonio de Remesal, *Historia de la provincia de S. Vicente de Chyapa y Guatemala* (Madrid, 1619), pp. 161-162.

The adelantado, says Father Tello, reached Guadalajara on June 12, and was strongly in favor of attacking the Indians at Nochistlán at once, without awaiting the arrival of the viceroy's men from Mexico. Oñate attempted to dissuade the rash Alvarado, but the latter felt that his honor and that of his men was at stake and that it was cowardice to let themselves be daunted by a handful of Indians. Tello continues:

The adelantado was so angry and vexed that he would not listen to reason and answered: "The die is cast! I commend myself to God!" So he took leave of them all and set off for the peñol and town of Nochistlán, encouraging his men to do their duty, as it was not meet for them to bring along the men from the city; and they all boasted that each would do more than the Cid or Roland. And after they had departed, the governor, Cristóbal de Oñate, was fearful of the ruin they would come to from the lack of judgment he saw, and he ordered twenty-five horsemen to make ready at once, and he with them, and, leaving the force he thought necessary in the city, he set out over the heights of Suchipila and the mountains of Nochistlán and took up a position on a height opposite the peñol so that he might see what was going on.

The Spaniards attacked the peñol twice and were defeated with a loss of thirty killed. They were forced to retreat through the mud and, becoming mired, they were attacked by the Indians, who killed another of them and a horse. They finally reached the pass at Yahualica, where the attack of the Indians began to abate.

The adelantado was on foot in the rear-guard, and one of those on horseback, whose name was Baltasar de Montoya, a native of Seville and Alvarado's notary—who later died at the age of a hundred and five—was riding a tired horse and as he attempted to advance up a slope he spurred it and the horse stumbled. And the adelantado said to him: "Calm yourself, Montoya, for the Indians have left us." But as fear is a giant and filled his mind, he did not listen to reason but to flying; and as the captain continued talking to him and telling him to behave himself and why was he in such a hurry to spur on and fly, his horse lost its footing and came rolling down and struck the adelantado, and so great was the blow it gave him on the chest that it was broken, and he was carried down the slope to a creek, where his men came to him after he had fallen and found him senseless. And trying to raise him up, they gave him water, with which he came to, the blood gushing from his mouth, and said: "This he deserves who brings with him such men as Montoya!" The pain he suffered was so great that he could hardly speak, and when Don Luis de Castilla asked him where he was hurt, he answered: "In my soul. Carry me where I can confess and cure it with the resin of penitence and wash it in the precious blood of the Redeemer."

His men carried him to the village of Atenguillo, where they stopped for the night. There he was joined by Oñate, who had has-

tened to him after witnessing the disaster from his mountain-top lookout.

And Governor Oñate said to him: "Señor Adelantado, I am touched to the heart by your having run such a risk and being in danger of losing your life: I, being so experienced in war, told you not to go on this expedition, because the weather was contrary and favorable to the enemy, and this is a very different people from the one you conquered." The adelantado answered: "It is all over and there is no help for it. I must now care for my soul." And very much softened he said: "Whoso believeth not a good mother, let him believe a wicked stepmother! It was my fault for not following the advice of those who knew the people and the country, and it was my evil fate to bring along so base and cowardly a soldier as Montoya, whom I have often saved at great risk, until with his horse and his faint heart he has killed me. God be praised! I am tired and dying. Bring me soon to the city so that I may prepare my soul."

His men carried him to Guadalajara to the house of a kinsman, Juan del Camino, where he made his will in the presence of a number of witnesses, all named, and it was certified by two notaries, one of whom, strange to relate, was that same Montoya. "And all this was done", concludes Father Tello,

within three days after his arrival in the city; and he continued to grow worse . . . and died on the fourth day of July of the said year [1541]; and on the third day of July, the day before his death, it rained blood in Toluca.²¹

It is interesting to note that, in spite of the great amount of pious embellishment in Father Tello's narrative, the framework is very close to the documents, but it is more interesting still to observe that, almost without exception, it has been repeated intact down to the present day.

After Father Tello's day the task of the chronicler became exceedingly simple. The first one to borrow his narrative bodily was Father Beaumont, who wrote his *Crónica de Michoacán* in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Beaumont, however, included the Captain Falcón incident, which is not mentioned by Tello, and elaborated upon it with great minuteness.²²

The one chronicler who failed to use Tello's account was the great-great-grandson of Bernal Díaz, Doctor Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, who dutifully repeats the history of his great-great-grand-

²¹ Antonio Tello, *op. cit.*, pp. 382-396.

²² Pablo de la Purísima Concepción Beaumont *Crónica de la provincia de los Santos Apóstoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1873-1874), IV. 267-276.

sire and adds two dates on his own account: June 24 for the action and July 5 for Alvarado's death.²³

Mota Padilla, writing his *Historia de la conquista de la Nueva Galicia* toward 1742, repeats Tello almost to the letter.²⁴ A full century after Mota Padilla, the Mexican historian, José Fernando Ramírez, put the story in the introduction to his *Proceso de residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado* (1847).²⁵ In 1877, Niceto de Zamacois included Tello's story entire in his voluminous *Historia de México*.²⁶ José Millá abridged it very little in his *Historia de la América Central* (1879).²⁷ Riva Palacio did no less in his *México a través de los siglos* (1888).²⁸

In this country Tello's narrative fell into the hands of Hubert Howe Bancroft, who, in his *History of Mexico* (1883), retold the story of Alvarado's last stand in such noble periods that one is greatly tempted to believe him. We are told, for instance, that when Alvarado stormed the peñol:

A human flood opposed his progress. Ten thousand Indians, men and women, poured down upon the aggressor like a torrent. The sky was dark with arrows, darts, and stones, and at the first shock twenty Spaniards fell dead. The ferocity of the enemy was such that they tore the bodies of the slain to pieces, threw them into the air, and then devoured them. Consternation seized the Spaniards. Nevertheless Alvarado rallied, and in a second onslaught ten more horsemen bit the dust.

Unfortunately for this classical figure, it was raining heavily. Bancroft includes the Captain Falcón incident as related in Beaumont's *Crónica de Michoacán*. The retreat from the rock and the cowardice of the despicable Montoya call forth deserved eloquence:

Alvarado endeavored to check the flight of his men, to rally and rest them; but they were terror-stricken and paid no heed to the orders of the commander. To save their lives they were now even willing the enemy should live; so onward

²³ Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, *Historia de Guatemala, o Recorrida florida* (Madrid, 1882), pp. 155-156.

²⁴ Matías de la Mota Padilla, *Historia de la provincia de la Nueva Galicia*, (Mexico, 1871-1872), pp. 123-127.

²⁵ José Fernando Ramírez, *Proceso de residencia contra Pedro de Alvarado* (Mexico, 1847), introducción.

²⁶ Niceto de Zamacois, *Historia de México* (Mexico, 1877-1882), IV. 667-683.

²⁷ José Millá, *Historia de la América Central* (Guatemala, 1879-1882), I. 313-318.

²⁸ Vicente Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos* (Barcelona, 1888-1889), II. 165-166, 268-270, 317.

they swept over the rugged ground, caring little for captain or country. Alvarado's secretary, Baltasar de Montoya, was particularly anxious to widen the distance between himself and the enemy.

Montoya rode in front of his master, who repeatedly told him to slacken his pace, or the horse would fall with him. But the scribe was beside himself with fear; so much so that on coming to a broken embankment, instead of economizing his fast failing resources, he spurred the jaded animal toward the steep. When about half way up the horse lost its footing and fell, throwing likewise Alvarado and his horse to the ground, whereupon all were precipitated into a ravine below. Montoya was not much injured, but the gallant conqueror lay crushed, his fair form broken and mutilated.

And so on. Oñate, who had watched the whole affair from his vantage point, hastened down to deliver his I-told-you-so speech to the fallen Alvarado, while the latter concerned himself with the state of his soul and Montoya's cowardice—all faithfully taken from Father Tello. For some reason Bancroft fails to mention the rain of blood, which certainly has the same authority as the rest of the story.²⁰

The twentieth century and the historical method have left Father Tello intact. In 1910, Luis Pérez Verdía included it entire in his *Historia de Jalisco*.²⁰ In 1927, Arthur Scott Aiton curiously used the same source in preference to the excellent documents upon which he based his *Antonio de Mendoza*.²¹ The case of Angel de Altolaguirre is even more striking, as this writer has presumably been interested in the subject for twenty years, having published his first study of Alvarado in 1905 and the second in 1927. He varies the story, however, by having the action take place at Ezatlán and he spares Montoya his customary castigation.²² Most recently has appeared Dr. Pérez Bustamante's *Don Antonio de Mendoza*, in which, in spite of a formidable array of documents, he repeats Tello's story of Alvarado's death, even to the speeches.²³

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²⁰ Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1883), II. 495-502.

²¹ Luis Pérez Verdía, *Historia de Jalisco* (Guadalajara, 1910-1911), I. 153-156.

²² Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza* (Durham, N. C., 1927), pp. 148-150.

²³ Angel de Altolaguirre, *Don Pedro de Alvarado* (Madrid, 1927), pp. 269-271.

²⁴ C. Pérez Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago de Compostela, 1929), pp. 78-80.

RED CROSS ACTIVITIES IN HISPANIC AMERICA

In the last few years the American Red Cross has gained a greater number of supporters among Hispanic Americans than ever before. This increased interest can be traced to the performance of the Red Cross during disasters in Florida, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua during the past three years. Hurricanes visited the first three places mentioned, while in Nicaragua it was an earthquake early this year which required Red Cross aid.

In the Florida hurricane, which occurred September 28, 1928, the Red Cross assisted more than 1,500 families, estimated to number nearly 6,800 individuals. Food was provided, household supplies furnished, and houses rebuilt for the destitute victims. Upon the forewarnings of the United States weather bureau, the Red Cross rushed two experienced national disaster representatives to Florida several days before the storm broke. When the storm struck they were in position to direct emergency relief work in the shortest possible time. The hurricane passed westward through the Florida straits.

The tropical storm which struck Porto Rico and other islands in the West Indies group occurred in September, 1928. In Porto Rico there were 300 lives lost and more than 4,000 persons injured. Most of the crops were destroyed and loss of live stock and property damage was extremely heavy. This disaster was the greatest calamity requiring Red Cross relief during that year. Immediately after the hurricane struck financial aid was cabled to Porto Rican authorities and relief workers dispatched to the stricken area.

Before the relief program was completed the Red Cross completed plans to assist in the rehabilitation work. School lunches were served to 120,000 needy children in the affected districts and garden seeds were distributed on a large scale by the relief agency. More than \$3,200,000 was spent by the Red Cross in this disaster. So rapid was the recovery of Porto Rico that the Red Cross relief forces were withdrawn within six months after the hurricane struck. For many months, however, the Red Cross continued to administer assistance to the sufferers through the Porto Rican Chapter. In a follow-up program of the society, coffee-beds were planted, more seeds for veg-

etable gardens distributed, and thousands of destitute families given additional assistance.

It was also in the month of September, but in 1930, that Santo Domingo was visited by a devastating hurricane. Overnight, 18,000 persons became dependent upon the Red Cross for food. Aside from the daily rationing, the society lessened suffering in many other ways. A brief outline of the Red Cross relief program in the Santo Domingo disaster is contained in a recent report of Ernest J. Swift, assistant national director of insular and foreign operations, of the American Red Cross. Swift's report said:

Briefly summarized, the American Red Cross coöperation in the disaster consisted in rationing 18,000 people daily, maintaining air transport service, supplying all vaccines, serums, bandages, dressings, antiseptics, anesthetics, meeting the expenses of the Porto Rican hospital, providing paid labor for over-crowded hospitals, purchasing and distributing to hospitals supplies otherwise unobtainable, providing funds for the erection of separate small family shelters for the destitute, consulting with and assisting President Trujillo and his aides in meeting their problems. The cost of this service was approximately \$75,000. The results achieved for which the Red Cross deserves much credit are: potable water, no epidemics, all injured under shelter with medical attention, no hunger, shelter for the indigent, restoration of morals, reasonably clean streets and garbage disposal.

Managua, Nicaragua, scene of the most recent disaster on Hispanic American soil, was almost completely destroyed on the morning of last March 1 by a violent earthquake. Although the exact number of dead never has been determined, the most recent reports to national headquarters of the American Red Cross stated that 730 bodies had been recovered from the ruins. The number of injured was placed at more than 6,000. In a fire which followed the earth tremors, the business buildings which escaped the shocks were reduced to ashes. The city water supply was temporarily cut off.

Following a conference in Washington between Red Cross and government officials, Director Swift hurried to the scene of the disaster by train and airplane. After a hurried survey of the situation he formed a relief committee. The hungry were fed and the homeless sheltered. At the peak of the emergency rations were issued to about 21,000 persons daily. Jobs for the victims were created to clear away the debris as well as for the purpose of preserving their independence and morale. The problem of shelter was lessened by the fact that a large per cent of the population left the city. The water system was restored and sanitary measures enforced as a safeguard against pos-

sible epidemics. As soon as rehabilitation work was under way, Swift returned to Washington. Frequent communication between his office and the committee left in charge in Managua, however, has enabled him to keep a close vigilance on the progress of the stricken people. His latest reports indicate that the city is making rapid progress in its rebuilding program.

Other disasters have occurred in the very heart of sections occupied by Hispanic Americans. Several of them have struck within the last few years; however, none were so great as those outlined above. One of the most significant features of the reports of all the calamities described is the mention of the splendid coöperation the Red Cross has received in every step of its relief work. The Red Cross realizes that its close acquaintance with Hispanic America will materially increase its membership as time goes on.

Annual roll call of the Red Cross is to be conducted this year between Armistice Day, November 11, and Thanksgiving Day, November 26. Because of its expanded services and exceptionally heavy demands for its services during the last fiscal year, ended June 30, the Red Cross needs memberships more than during any previous year since the World War.

THE CHURCHMEN AND THE INDIAN LANGUAGES OF NEW SPAIN

We are often led to believe that the Spanish conquerors were a ruthless lot of avaricious fortune seekers who braved the dangers of unexplored seas and undiscovered lands in quest of gold alone. So firmly implanted has become this misconception that the Spanish discoveries in North America are underestimated on the assumption that they were accidental.¹ It is unreasonable to assume that gold alone should account for the formation and maintenance of an unequaled empire extending from Chesapeake Bay, around the Straits of Magellan to the coast of California.² Professor Charles S. Braden treated very thoroughly in his recent book³ other more important factors underlying the conquest. To use the words of Professor Isaac J. Cox in the Foreword:

Under Mr. Braden's treatment the leading *conquistador* becomes more than a daring ruffian wholly intent upon extorting from hapless captives the secrets of hidden treasures or an undue share of personal service; he is the devout promoter of Mexico's evangelization.⁴

Aside from the eagerness to discover in the name of the crown, the Spaniards were also interested in settling the newly discovered land, as instanced by the taking of women, children, and farming implements in their early voyages, as well as by frequent declarations of the captains themselves.⁵ But to resume the object of this paper.

To a man who lived in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the term "New World" must have implied a great deal more than the mere geographical significance it connotes today. It meant new land,

¹ S. E. Forman, *American History*, New York, 1924. P. 13.—"It was while searching for gold that Balboa discovered the Pacific Ocean; that Ponce de Leon came upon Florida; that de Soto found himself upon the banks of the Mississippi River; that Coronado was led to traverse the wilds of what is now New Mexico and Kansas."

² H. E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*. Map facing p. 16.

³ Charles S. Braden, *Religious Aspects of the Conquest of Mexico*, Duke University Press, 1930.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

⁵ Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *Historia de la Conquista y Descubrimiento de Mexico*, Chap. XXVIII.

new seas, new peoples, new customs, new products, and new markets. It enhanced the conception of the earth, it enlarged empires, it increased commerce and wealth, and widened the scope and field of learning. Should we eventually enter Mars, our position would be comparable to that of the Spaniard in the new world. There would be similar situations to face, similar questions to answer, and conjectures such as these would be common: Would they be humans like we are? Would they possess a soul, or one half or a quarter? What about their religion and their government and other matters?

Coming to an entirely new territory inhabited by beings whose language and customs bore no resemblance to that of the newcomers, we may well imagine the difficulties that had to be surmounted. They sought information from the Indians only to find that the ignorance of each other's tongue made communication impossible. In order to overcome this barrier all sorts of cleverness was resorted to with a good measure of success. Fortunately, with the Spaniard's innate ability to gesticulate and the uncommon vivacity and significance of the Indian's gestures the difficulty of speech was lessened.⁶ There were instances when misunderstandings often led to humorous or tragic results. The incident that resulted in the naming of Peru is a good example. A ship of Balboa's expedition drifted southward on the western coast of South America. An Indian on the coast was so surprised by the sight of the ship that he allowed himself to be captured. After his fears had subsided, the Spaniards asked him the name of the land on which they stood. He, thinking that they asked his name, answered: "Pelú", adding that he was on the river "Berú". The sailors took both words as an answer and made Perú out of them.⁷

In other cases, however, the communication by signs was partially successful. Obregón affirms that the explorers of the Amazon region were exceptionally good in making themselves understood by signs. Of one he says:

I affirm he gave us good news about the natives without the least discrepancy; all by means of signs in such a way that he understood all that was said to him and made himself clearly understood.⁸

The very first Spaniard who came in contact with the formidable Aztec empire realized that an attempt to conquer it without an inter-

⁶ Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, MS., book 3, chap. 120.

⁷ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, Lisbon, 1609, Chap. IV.

⁸ Baltazar Obregón, *Descubrimiento de la Nueva España*, México, 1584.

preter would be futile, so Hernández de Cordova in 1517 captured two Mexican Indians. These, later christened Juliancillo and Melchorejo, were brought to Cuba where thus isolated they were able to learn enough Castillian to serve as interpreters for Grijalva in 1518. This second expedition came upon an Indian woman who spoke the language of Cuba. She had drifted with a fishing party from Cuba to the coast of Mexico two years previously. A year or so later, Cortés took her and the Indian who survived, but owing to the treachery of the latter they were not very successful.⁹

It was Doña Marina, an Indian girl given to Cortés, and Gerónimo de Aguilar, a Spaniard castaway from a ship, that were so serviceable in the conquest of Mexico. The Indian girl knew two Indian dialects, one of which Aguilar knew, and he knowing Spanish, a message could be passed from Cortés to the Aztecs by means of the two interpreters.¹⁰ The scarcity of interpreters made them very valuable and extreme precautions were taken to preserve them.

Thus far, the military men had made no effort actually to learn the dialects. So long as their wishes were made known to the chieftains of the land, nothing further was necessary. The missionaries who followed found it indispensable to master the dialects in order to transmit new religious concepts and abstruse theological ideas. The situation was further aggravated by the cruelties which the soldiers had perpetrated in the name of Christianity. The Indians of New Spain hated the very name of Christ to such an extent that the friars had to dissuade them that the soldiers were Christians.¹¹ The reception that in some cases was extended to the missionaries was not very cordial.

His parishioners received him sometimes with a storm of arrows and sometimes in sullen silence. He could not speak to them nor they to him: and the very first thing he had to do was learn from such unwilling teachers their strange tongue.¹²

The difficult task of conversion was somewhat alleviated by certain resemblances of the two religions. The Aztec worship was remarkable for its burdensome ceremonial and prepared its votaries for the pomp and splendor of Romish ritual.¹³ Historians of the time record the

⁹ Bernal Diaz, *op. cit.*, Chap. II.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chap. XXIII.

¹¹ Lucas Ayarragaray, *La Iglesia en América*, Buenos Aires, 1921, p. 50.

¹² Charles F. Lummis, *Spanish Pioneers*, Chicago, 1912, p. 166.

¹³ W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of the Conquest of Mexico*, III. 254.

knowledge that the Aztecs had of the cross,¹⁴ baptism and confessions.¹⁵ Camargo, above all, lessens the burden of the missionaries by explaining the Indian's attitude of mind to a new religion.¹⁶

It has already been mentioned how the soldiers resorted to gestures and signs when attempting to communicate with the natives in the absence of interpreters. The first group of Franciscans that came at the request of Cortés in 1523 likewise adopted this method at the start.¹⁷ The psychology of the missionary, however, was better adapted for the purpose than that of the soldier. The story is told of a group of Spanish soldiers who ran short of provisions on the coast of Chile and, when they espied a troop of Indians on the shore, cast lots to find out who should be sent to negotiate with the natives. A priest was finally sent, since he was less useful as a fighting man, and upon reaching shore his boat capsized, whereupon the natives rescued him. When he came to, he noticed that the Indians would not approach him but would fall on the ground embracing it. He followed their gestures carefully and imitated them successfully. The gesture signified that he came in peace.¹⁸

At noon-day on the marketplace, the missionaries preached as best they could, picking any word that they heard and inquiring from others the meaning of new words. The Indians in Mexico City pitied these poor men who were afflicted, so they thought, by this talking malady. Believing them to be mad they seldom disturbed them.¹⁹

Not knowing the language they said that in hell, pointing below with their hands, there were lizards, snakes, and fire, and presently raised their eyes to heaven saying that God alone was there.²⁰

¹⁴ Grijalva, MS of the Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla, 20, 25.—“Adoran una cruz de mármol, blanca y grande que encima tiene una corona de oro y dicen que en ella murió uno más lucido y resplandiente que el sol.”

¹⁵ Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*.

¹⁶ Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala*, MS.—“Este modo de hablar y decir que les querían dar otro Dios, es saber que cuando estas gentes tenían noticia de algún Dios de buenas propiedades y costumbres, que les recibieron admitiéndoles por tal, porque otras gentes avenedizas trujeron muchos ídolos que tubieran por Dioses y a ese fin y propósito decían que Cortés les traía otro Dios.”

¹⁷ Sir Arthur Helps, *The Span. Conquest in America*, p. 190.

¹⁸ Toribio Medina, *Col. de Historiadores de Chile*, 1901.

¹⁹ Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, Lib. III, p. 218.

²⁰ Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala*. Edited by Chavero. Mex. 1892, pp. 163-164.

In this babel of tongues it was necessary to employ every talent possible as well as all the senses. Those who were able artists painted illustrative scenes from the Bible and attracted the curiosity of the Indian. Thus with a few substantives, pictures, and expressions of pleasure and disgust as the case required, they were able to inculcate Christian ideas in the natives and at the same time increase their own vocabulary. Others composed pantomimes and enacted scenes from the Bible in order to convey the plan of salvation.²¹

In 1538 a religious drama entitled *Adán y Eva* was written and presented in the Nahuatl tongue. The composition was later translated into Spanish and played in different parts of the country. There appears a drama in New Mexico that is played today in Spanish bearing the same name. Whether or not this is the same drama that was composed in 1538, I cannot say.

At times the Indians answered by means of picture writing, a method common to the Aztecs, giving an insight into the written as well as the spoken language. One historian employed this means of obtaining information. He propounded to them queries which the Indians answered in writing and then had them translated or interpreted by those who knew Spanish.²²

The Indians themselves were no less apt in striving to learn the language which their conquerors imposed upon them. In church they were required to pray in Latin. Such a difficult task was accomplished in a unique fashion. Some divided the prayer into units, using a pebble to represent each unit, thus: "Our Father", one pebble, "who art in Heaven", another pebble, and so on. Others used a better method still, associating the sounds of Latin with those of their own dialect. A word in Aztec that resembled the Latin was written in the usual hieroglyphical paintings in the following manner: For *Pater* they used *panitli* meaning *banner*, and painted a banner to represent it. For *noster* they substituted *nochtli*, the name of fruit (tuna) and placed it by the previous one. With the aid of this mnemonic device the natives were able to memorize entire prayers without knowing what they were saying.²³

The comparative facility of Castillian enabled the Indians to learn it well enough to serve as interpreters. Wherever possible the interpreters acted more as translators who rendered complete sermons and

²¹ Cuevas, *Hist. de la iglesia en Mexico*, Mexico, 1922, I. 383.

²² Sahagún, *Relación de las cosas de Nueva España*, Int.

²³ Mendieta, *op. cit.*, III. 245.

didactic stories into the Indian language. These sermons were memorized and practiced daily by the missionaries until thoroughly learned. Very often a visiting minister would be astonished at the proficiency attained by a fellow-worker in a tongue so difficult.²⁴

The Indian interpreter was not always a satisfactory solution to the language situation. He must have afforded a rather dubious channel for the transmission of abstruse doctrines. The sovereigns realized the inefficacy of the interpreter and wrote to the Bishop of Nueva Viscaya: "I foresee the evils that may arise by employing an interpreter for confession".²⁵ Philip II., wishing to accelerate the learning process, withheld by royal decree part of the salaries allotted to the missionaries until they learned the Indian tongue.²⁶

The ultimate aim in learning the native tongue was so important to the friars that little or nothing was ever recorded of how they went about learning it. Many simply mention what a difficult task it was and pass on to tell about the number of converts and other matters. Others say that "by the grace of God and with no other teacher", they were able to learn.²⁷ Mendieta, who was an apt scholar in the Mexican tongue, is said to have learned it "per quodam remensi",²⁸ and others claim to have received the gift of tongues like the apostles.

The Lord our God bestows on his ministers the gift of tongues; so He seemed extremely liberal in having given it to these saintly founders.²⁹

The task was not so simple as that. During the first two years in Sinaloa the missionaries were not able to do much, for most of their time was taken up with the study of the language in the only way possible, that is, by finding the application of a word and making a written record of it.³⁰

All possible contact that would enable both races to learn each other's tongue was welcomed, and entire communities were at times

²⁴ Toro, *Historia de México*, II. 283.

Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, San Francisco, III. 610.

²⁵ Hacket, *Historical documents*, Washington, 1926, II. 202.

²⁶ Pedro Quiroga, *Coloquio de la verdad*. Ed. by Cuevas, 1922.

²⁷ Mariano Cuevas, *Hist. de la iglesia en Mex.*, I. 363.

²⁸ Torquemada, *op. cit.*, Lib. XX, chap. 13.

²⁹ Alonso Fernández, *Hist. Ecles. de nuestro tiempo*, p. 61.

³⁰ Herrera, *Historia general*, Dec. I, Lib. IX, cap. XIV.

moved in order to promote this contact.³¹ To this end also schools were opened under the tutelage of the missionaries as soon as the Spanish government was strong enough to issue orders. The Indian noblemen were requested to send their children to boarding schools that they might receive religious instruction. Although these children were exceptionally bright and memorized their Latin quickly enough, yet no marked progress was made in the mutual acquisition of languages. The priests were always on the alert for new words and used those newly acquired when attempting to preach. This did not prove to be very practical at times, for, not having a sufficient knowledge of the Indian tongue, their words did not conform with their intentions. The older boys in the schools, noticing the deep interest that their teachers took in the language of Mexico, corrected them whenever they were able.

The missionaries finally saw that if they were to learn at all they had to approach the problem from an entirely different angle, so

They cast aside their gravity and began playing with the boys with pebbles and sticks during the time set apart to rest, and they always had paper and ink at hand so that upon hearing a word they took it down as well as the purpose for which it was used.³²

In the evening the missionaries compared notes in order to arrive at some uniform conclusion regarding the meaning of the new words recorded during the day. This method was effective as far as it went but it did not go far enough. The vocabulary was limited to situations pertaining to the games played and not suitable for preaching.

The real solution was found in a young boy who had been thrown in contact from infancy with the Indian children and had learned the language naturally. Alonso de Molina at an early age was allowed by his widowed mother to live in school with the priests and serve as an interpreter therein.³³ Under such favorable conditions the learning process advanced very rapidly and efforts were soon after made to write vocabularies to facilitate the learning of the Nahuatl tongue. None of these early vocabularies or word lists were as successful as the one written later on by Molina himself. In fact, Molina's work was the standard upon which later textbooks were founded.³⁴

³¹ Mariano Cuevas, *op. cit.*

³² Mendieta, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, cap. XVI.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³⁴ Braden, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

About this time Charles V. ordered that young children be brought to Spain and reared in convents where they would learn from childhood the religion that they would teach to their own people upon returning.³⁵ From then on the whole process of learning was simplified. Every missionary that came to the new world thought it his duty to write at least one *arte de la lengua* during his life. By the middle of the sixteenth century there were enough grammars and prayer books written in various dialects to enable the clergymen to study them in the seminaries.

The whole learning process falls into three stages. The first period begins with the coming of the soldiers in 1518 and extends to the arrival of the Franciscans in 1523. During this period there was no effort made on the part of the government or the soldiers to learn the Indian languages thoroughly. The next period covers from 1523 to about 1530 when the first written works such as vocabularies and *artes* began to appear. It was at this particular time that the greater part of the research into the dialects was made. The last stage has a much wider distribution and is more uniform due to the printing press and the grammars that were worked out. Most of these books were patterned after the work done in Spain by Nebrija. The writing of grammars in any language was then in an experimental stage, but even so, most of the principal dialects of New Spain were carefully worked out and placed in the curriculum of the seminaries.

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³⁵ *Documentos Inéditos* 2a serie, I. 360, "Real cédula del rey Carlos V."

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST RELATIVE TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF PRIMO DE RIVERA

The excuse for the compilation of the present bibliographical list is found in the importance of the historical events which have unfolded themselves in Spain since 1923. In its preparation, only what what might be called the "more concrete events" have been considered. There has been no attempt to include the many articles that have appeared in periodical literature. The list follows:

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NOTES

Gustavo Barrozo (João do Norte), the well-known Brazilian novelist and essayist, a member of the Brazilian Academy, and virtual creator of the admirable historical museum in Rio de Janeiro has collected a number of historical essays and articles under the title of *O Brasil em Face do Prata* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1930). Most of the material deals with the Paraguayan War. In a number of articles, the writers reveal the slender foundation on which the present cult of López, fostered by such Paraguayan writers as Baéz and O'Leary and Blas Garay is based. One long section is devoted to a critique of the trilogy of historical novels on the Paraguayan War written by the eminent Argentina novelist Manuel Gálvez. A series of appendices includes the reply of Gálvez to Barrozo's strictures and a number of documents designed to clear up obscure or controversial points. The work is a useful addition to the growing literature on the Paraguayan War.—P. A. M.

Students of Cuban history will be interested in the last number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Tomo XXIX, Nums. 1-6, January-December, 1930) edited by Captain Joaquín Llaverías, Director of the Cuban National Archives. The first important item, entitled "Contribución a la Historia de la Prensa Periódica" deals with *El Avisador del Comercio*, an important daily published in Havana from 1847 to 1850. Of still greater interest is the publication of all the pertinent documents relating to the establishment in 1794 of the Real Consulado de Agricultura, Industria y Comercio de la isla de Cuba, a body which gave an enormous impetus to the economic development of the island under Spanish rule. The *Boletín* continues the publication of the "Inventario General del Archivo de la Delegación del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en New York (1892-1898).—P. A. M.

In Volume XXIV of the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America appeared an important and interesting article on "The medical Literature of Mexico and Central America", which was compiled by Nathan Van Patten, librarian of Stanford University. This has been reprinted (1931) for private circulation (pp. 150-199), with a special title page. Mr. Van Patten introduces his thesis with the forceful statement that

The medical literature of Mexico and Central America is an important part of the medical literature of the world.

He proves his thesis and in doing so presents a great deal of very interesting material. Although dealing primarily with Mexico and Central America (principally with Guatemala; but having titles from all countries of this region), information is given for Cuba (extensively), as well as for Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Porto Rico. The field of inquiry was very extensive. Copies of all books known to exist in Mexico and the United States were examined. In citing names of authors, the form employed in the Biblioteca Nacional of the City of Mexico was that accepted—a sound bibliographical procedure. The study of medicine has been very extensive in Hispanic America, especially so in Mexico. The first medical work to be published in America was an edition of Monardes in 1570 (Mexico), only five years after the first Spanish edition. Just sixteen years after the publication of Jenner's epoch making work, instructions for vaccinating were issued in Mexico (1814)—this showing the avidity with which new medical

discoveries were hailed in the Indies. This information of the work is presented clearly and pleasingly. Mr. Van Patten has produced a bibliographical study that never loses its interest, is easy to read, and yet filled with useful information. The compiler has made a real contribution to bibliography.

The Textbook Handbook of Hispanic American History by A. Curtis Wilgus, of George Washington University, which has just appeared, represents a new development in the reproduction of textbooks. This volume has been made by the Mime-O-Form Service which is located in the Southern Building, Washington, D. C.; and the method has been developed by Mr. Ernest Kletsch. The method employed enables the company to produce a volume (even in small editions) in print form at prices no greater than for mimeographing or lithographing, and with a vast improvement in appearance and facility for use. By this method, the mussiness of the mimeographed page (so often seen) is avoided, as well as the flat appearance of the lithograph; and the volume (printed on both sides of the paper) can be given the usual textbook size. The method allows of the use of various fonts of type, so that special features of the volume may be emphasized visually. The type is actually cast by a monotype machine, but printed by the method of multigraphing. New features are being constantly developed by the company. The method is especially adaptable for the pre-printing of textbooks which have not yet been given definitive form, for the printing of catalogue cards; and for the printing of many other materials. The printing is done in loose leaf form and not in sheets that require folding. The binding has presented a problem which has been solved and Professor Wilgus's volume—a book of almost 800 pages—opens flat; and the binding is strong and durable. In fact, the possibility of the new method of publishing is enormous. Mr. Kletsch, the president of the company, denies that the method has been developed in order to compete with the regular printers, but simply to take care of certain materials in a much more convenient manner than at present and at a nominal or cheap cost. The method was demonstrated at the recent meeting of the American Library Association. Students of the history of Hispanic America may find, as has Professor Wilgus, that for pre-printing purposes, this

method is far preferable to the older mimeographed form. It is recommended for investigation.

The "Collection Ibero-Américaine", is being published in Paris under a special publications committee, composed of Gabriela Mistral, V. H. Belaúnde, Domingo Braga, Mariano Brull, Enrique Diez-Canedo, Francisco García Calderón, Le Gentil, Alonso Reyes, Gonzague de Reynold, Raymond Ronze, and Gonzalo Zaldumbade. The committee selects the books to be published in the series and designates the scholars who are to do the translating and editing of them. The series, which was inaugurated in 1927, will make available in various languages the best literary productions of Hispanic America. Historical works, as well as purely literary works, are to be included.

The Harvey Bassler Foundation has just (1931) published *A Survey of Mexican Scientific Periodicals*, which was made by Miss Annita Melville Ker (printed by the Waverly Press of Baltimore). This is the first work of a bibliographical nature to be published by the above named foundation. Besides her introduction (pp. iii-xv), Miss Ker has presented two parts to her survey; the first being "An Account of the Societies and Institutions which are publishing scientific periodicals in Mexico at present" (pp. 1-37); and the second, "Bibliography of Mexican Periodicals". In addition, there is a classified list of the periodicals; and an appendix of Historical Periodicals (nine only and admittedly incomplete). The introduction contains various biographical and historical data. The researches for this survey were carried on personally by the author in Mexico City and Washington, D. C. Omissions were inevitable, for complete sets of some periodicals were not available to Miss Ker. This is an excellent study and has been needed.

Seldom has a more attractive title been given to a volume than that of J. Frank Dobie's *Coronado's Children*, which in 1930 appropriately came from The Southwest Press of Dallas, Texas. The subtitle explains this interesting volume as "Tales of Lost Mines and Buried Treasures of the Southwest". In eighteen chapters, Mr. Dobie gives as many tales, which he is careful to explain (p. v), are not his own creation, but stories verging on folklore. The nineteenth chapter

is really editorial in tone and explains various symbols used by those who buried treasure; and gives various other explanations. As an introduction to these tales the author goes back to Cabeza de Vaca and to Coronado and the expeditions into the wilds of the southwest. The lure of gold has since time immemorial led to adventures, to expeditions, to struggle, and sudden death. The lure that drew Coronado and countless others is still a potent force and the author quite properly says that "tradition has marked rock and river and ruin with illimitable treasure" (pp. viii-ix); and he adds "The legends of lost mines and buried treasures that pass current today all over the Southwest and West are a blend" (p. ix). The people who tell these stories and look for the treasures, the author calls "Coronado's Children". "They follow Spanish trails, buffalo trails, cow trails, they dig where there are no trails, but oftener than they dig or prospect they just sit and tell stories of lost mines" (p. ix). In the telling of the stories, Mr. Dobie leads us frequently into the old Spanish day, down old Spanish trails, and he has produced an interesting and valuable book filled with local color for the historian. The volume has some excellent annotations and a "Glossary and other localisms of the Southwest". The author has shown commendable and scholarly research.

Edgar L. Hewett in his *Ancient Life in the American Southwest* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Co., [1930]) has told once more many salient facts regarding those whom he calls "the first Americans, a genuine nobility, the true autocthonous—a silent people in a silent land, inarticulate, but revealing to those who can penetrate through symbol and song and ceremony the inner life of a people as imaginative, as gentle, as harmonious as any that have ever existed on this planet" (pp. xiv-xv). It is the story of the Pueblo Indians, whom first of white men the Spaniards saw. The first part of the volume is an introduction (pp. 19-63), in which is given briefly a "General History of the American Race" in four chapters, namely: "The humanizing of a continent"; "The Americanizing of a Race"; "Time Factors and evolution factors"; "A New-world culture type"; and "summing up". Part II, treating of "Contemporary Ancestry" is also divided into four chapters: "The Pueblo Indians"; "Wisdom of the Past"; "Indian Esthetics"; and the summing up. Part II "The Realm of the Pick and Spade", has six chapters: Archaeological Re-

search in the Southwest; Between the Mountains and the Plains; The Land of Cliffs and Canyons"; "The desert Provinces of the western Slope"; "The irrigated Provinces"; and "Dwellers of the inland Basin". The book is written sympathetically by a universally recognized authority. The volume is not for the scientist but for the lay person and is readable but never undignified; for the author is in real earnest and has much information to impart. Quite naturally, as in most books of this type, there is much reminder of the Spaniards who first of white men came into this region.

Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830, by Grant Foreman (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1930), is concerned mostly with a fairly modern period, namely that from 1796-1830. The first chapter is a slight resumé of French and Spanish explorations prior to the Louisiana purchase; and the second deals with the Osage Indians who terrified the southwest during the period 1770-1810. The other nineteen chapters discuss the Indians, the gradual opening of their territory, and the penetration by the white man between 1796 and 1830. By the southwest, the author means that part of the original Missouri Territory which later became Arkansas Territory, southern Missouri, and southern Kansas. In writing his volume, Mr. Foreman has gone to the manuscripts of army officers, Indian agents, factors, trailers, and missionaries; and his researches have led him to a great many depositories of manuscripts. On pp. 315-327 is given a bibliographical list which will be found helpful. Many of the books and newspapers consulted have the force of primary sources. There is an index and some excellent illustrations. The background is Spanish, French, and American. Much valuable material has been assembled on the Indian-Pioneer period better than has been done hitherto.

Some interesting material relating to Hispanic America and Spain and Portugal will be found in Edmund C. Burnett, *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*, of which four volumes have already been published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington (1921-1928). These volumes have been carefully edited and no pains spared to make them accurate in every respect. The material relating to Florida will be found of special interest.

A number of Spanish maps showing territory now in the United States are listed in a bulletin issued by the Library of Congress under

the editorship of Lawrence Martin and Clara Egli. The maps listed are accessions for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1928. Interesting maps of Florida and Louisiana are listed.

Marie R. Madden, professor of Spanish history and political theory at Fordham University, has published through the Fordham University Press a volume entitled *Political Theory and Law in Medieval Spain* (1930). This will be found useful as background to students of Hispanic American history. In it are discussed the following: Doctrines of St. Isidore of Seville; The *Lex Visigothorum* or the *Forum Iudiciorum*; Principles of the *Forum Iudiciorum*, the *Usalges* of Barcelona, and the *Costumbres* of Tortosa; *Las Siete Partidas* and the influence of the Roman Justinian Law; The Kingship; The Councils of the King; The Municipalities; The Cortes; and Summary of the Spanish and Roman Justinian Principles.

Professor Herminio Portell Vilá, a review of whose book on Narciso López appears in this issue of the REVIEW, is also the author of a study entitled *Historia de Cardenas* (La Habana, Talleres Gráficos "Cuba Intelectual", 1928), pp. VII, 239, [3]. The volume has a "Carta-prólogo" written by Dr. Fernando Ortiz, president of the Academia de la Historia de Cuba, and editor of *Folklore Cubano* and *Revista Bimestre Cubana*. In six sections the author discusses the following matters: Desde el Descubrimiento hasta la Cesión del Sitio de San Juan de las Ciegas y Cárdenas; Desde la Cesión del Sitio hasta la Fundación de Cárdenas; Desde la Fundación de la Ciudad hasta la Toma de Cárdenas por el General Narciso López; Cárdenas y la Expedición de Narciso López; Desde la Expedición del General Narciso López hasta el Ceso de Dominación española; Veinticinco Años de República. This is an excellent study and is documented and footnoted with care.

The United States Catholic Historical Society published in 1930 in its Monograph Series, a study on the *Dominicans in Early Florida* by the Very Reverend V. F. O'Daniel, O. P. One bishop, eighteen fathers, and six brothers of the order are studied. The volume is at times controversial in tone.

In No. VI, Vol. I. (March, 1931), of "Preliminary Studies of the Texas Historical Society" is printed "The Solis Diary of 1767", by

Rev. Peter P. Forrestal, C. S. C., professor of Spanish in St. Edward's University. The diary is that of Padre Fray José de Salas, and was written during his visitation of the missions of the Province of Texas. It is very interesting.

F. S. Crofts has recently published revised editions of Doctor J. Fred Rippy's *The United States and Mexico* and *Latin America in World Politics*. Both volumes are brought down to the end of 1930. In *The United States and Mexico* the relations of the two countries since 1911 appear in a new and expanded form. Readers of the revised edition of *Latin America in World Politics* will be especially interested in the author's thorough and stimulating survey of the "American International Movement." Doctor Rippy has also just published under the auspices of the Vanguard Press a volume entitled *The Capitalists and Colombia*.

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